

FROM DEFERENCE TO FACE:
THE EVOLUTION OF USTED IN COSTA RICAN SPANISH

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the evolution of the second person singular address pronouns in Costa Rican Spanish, from the 16th to the 20th centuries. The analysis is built around two time periods, the first from the 16th to the 18th centuries and the second period covers the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The analysis is made using as resource material letters, administrative and personal, and excerpts taken from manuscripts (trials, family letters). This material is available in Costa Rican, Central American and Spanish archives, public and private. Excerpts found in historical publications were also used.

The analysis is based on forty nine letters and excerpts of manuscripts from the period described. It is an analysis of qualitative nature given the characteristics and quantity of the sources.

The study is made following the analysis of internal and external variables. The internal, linguistic variables considered for this study are subject, verb, indirect and direct object, determiners and prepositional complements. During the analysis all variables were analyzed. For the qualitative analysis, subject and verbs are the more relevant forms. As external variables, factors such as gender, type of relationship and century were considered. In the quantitative analysis, variables such as gender and type of relationship were combined in order to provide a more accurate representation about how the covariation takes place. The distinction between individuals that were related or not was also incorporated in the analysis. This division proved to be useful in determining if belonging to the same family could play a role in the shifting of the pronouns or not.

This dissertation deals with the evolution of the address form system at various levels. From one part, it deals with the explanation of a system with more than two pronouns; usually former and current varieties of Spanish have just two second person singular pronouns. It is not the case for Colonial Costa Rican Spanish which already at the beginning of the colonial period showed a very complex structure (Quesada, 2005) with *tú*, *vos* and *usted* (< *Vuestra Merced*) being used at **written level**. Colonial Costa Rican Spanish, due to the complexity of the address forms, has been considered a system with chaos. Through a careful analysis of the texts it is determined that chaos is not present. Quite the opposite, the second person address form system is clearly structured, and it was possible to define, according to the type of texts and analysis of the linguistic variables under consideration. A relevant linguistic factor in the analysis was the

type of verbs, more precisely, the type of verbs (behabitive, exercitive, etc) employed during the speech acts uttered by writer/speakers.

In addition, in determining the causes that condition the covariation, this dissertation also analyzes the evolution of one pronoun in particular: *usted*. The analysis of this pronoun is also divided in to two periods. The first period, from the 16th to the 18th century, focuses on the grammaticalization of the pronoun from *Vuestra Merced* to the pronoun *usted*; the contexts in which *usted* is used are also identified. Uses of *usted* are also defined in terms of which use corresponds to, what has been labeled in this study, as *usted 1*, which is the *usted* used by the speaker to establish some distance in regard to the addressee. Uses of *usted* as *usted 2* (to come closer to the reader/hearer) were also found. These uses were determined by taking into account the notion of face. Taking this notion as the base of the conceptual definition of the pronoun *usted*, and leaving behind the previous concept of deferentiality (and non-deferentiality), this dissertation proposes a new classification. Instead of the deferential *usted* and the non-deferential *usted*, the terms *withdrawal* and *approach* are proposed since they refer more clearly to what the speaker does in the communicative exchange, and it signals more clearly the pragmatic conditions of the interaction.

The second period analyzes the pragmaticalization of this pronoun. Emphasis is given on the impact of sociohistorical factors in linguistic change (Weinrich et al., 1968, Escobar, 2007) and also incorporates the perspectives of politeness and pragmatics (Terkourafi, 2005; Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987).

The pragmatic exploitations observed throughout the first period become established in the language through the use of one meaning or the other in very specific contexts. These contents expressed through the different types of verbs and also in narrow relationship with the notion of face, become variants within the discourse. The pronoun *usted* sees its meaning expanded and covering more functions than in the previous period. The contexts in which *usted 1* and *usted 2* appear also undergo change and thus it is possible to see why and how it is that there are two *usted*, one in each axis of possible communication with the addressee: withdrawal or approach, respectively. By finding which contexts determined the expansion of the *usted* and consequently its semantic expansion, at least with regard to Colonial Costa Rican Spanish, an answer to a very long debate is provided (Vargas, 1974; Vega-González, 2005; Quesada, 2005).

The study was carried out using different theoretical frameworks. Variation is analyzed in this research in regard to second person singular forms. Historical sociolinguistic analysis is employed in order to understand how strong networks vs. weak networks in societies can hinder or trigger language change. The analysis of Politeness theory and pragmatics brought concepts related to face, face threatening acts, speech acts of withdrawal vs. approach, theoretical concepts that facilitated the linguistic analysis. Also, notions such as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft*, taken from sociological studies and applied to language (Terkourafi, 2005; Brown and Levinson, 1978,1987) contributed to understanding of how social dynamics and social flux are mirrored in language.

All the linguistic analysis is also connected with historical factors. The socio-economic development of Costa Rica provided the necessary historical framework to understand how the history and the economic development experienced by Costa Rican society triggered the covariation of the pronouns and provided the necessary conditions for the expansion of the functions and meaning of the pronoun *usted*. Understanding of this socioeconomic and historical background made it possible to follow the evolution of Colonial Costa Rican Spanish as part of the transition of this society into agrarian capitalism.

With this dissertation, the goal is to contribute decisively to the understanding of the variation and evolution of the second person address form systems in Spanish, particularly to offer in the field of Spanish Linguistics a first approach in explaining the new function and meanings of the pronoun *usted*.

A Antidio Cabal González, *Pater*.
(Las Palmas de Gran Canaria-3 de abril de 1925;
Heredia, Costa Rica-30 octubre 2012)

A Andrés y Pablo, mis hijos

To Tad, husband

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Perhaps it is a subjective statement to say that Costa Rica is a unique country, nevertheless is no less true and this dissertation is a humble work to honor the richness and the uniqueness of this land and its Spanish.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The main goal of this doctoral dissertation is to contribute to a deeper understanding of address forms in Spanish, specifically of the address forms (*vos*, *usted*, *tú*) in the Costa Rican Spanish variety, from a sociohistorical perspective. Costa Rican Spanish displays currently an address form system that displays covariation between the second person pronouns *vos* and *usted* primarily. Additionally, *tú* has recently been added at oral level, with a lot of controversy. The initial attention given to this fact of covariation in Modern Costa Rican Spanish naturally leads to inquire what were the historical factors in the evolution of Costa Rican Spanish that prompted this variety of Spanish to develop this system. Therefore this study is historical in nature and its focus will be the analysis of the internal and external factors that contributed from 16th century on to the development of this address form system.

First, in order to understand how the covariation in the second person address forms is displayed in Modern Costa Rican Spanish, synchronic examples will be given. Second, an overview of how this linguistic phenomenon (as it exists in contemporary Costa Rican Spanish) has been addressed in research will be offered. Third, an overview on the development of the address forms in Spanish will be also presented, from Latin to Modern Spanish and with a general overview of the address forms systems throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Fourth, an overview on how the issue of covariation has been approached in diachronic linguistic studies regarding the Costa Rican address form system will be also offered, illustrating that no satisfactory explanation has been previously given for the development of the address form system in this variety of Spanish. Finally, research questions and hypothesis for the present doctoral dissertation are presented.

The linguistic analysis chapter and the sociolinguistic analysis chapter will be based on historical accounts of the phenomenon. Should the results of this study also eventually provide an explanation for the current phenomenon in Modern Costa Rican Spanish, regarding the controversial use of *tú*, that should be the focus of a future study.

As stated before, in order to understand first what is meant by covariation of the address forms, three synchronic examples from Modern Costa Rican Spanish are presented. The following example (1), of the current Costa Rican Spanish variety illustrates the covariation in the use of *vos* and *usted* between two friends. In this specific example (1) *vos* would be the T term and *usted* would be the V term¹, following Brown and Gilman's (1960) terminology of the T/V system, in which T represents the pronoun to express familiarity and V the pronoun related to formality. This example (1) illustrates the covariation between the *vos* and *usted* address forms, that is, the covariation between T and V. The emphasis is made on **verbal forms**. These examples are given solely as examples to show how the covariation between these pronouns takes place nowadays²:

(1) Covariation vos-usted between male and female friends^{3,4}

- M: Ya te dije, tranquila, tomáte (verb T) tu tiempo (...).
 F: estoy a como dice Carmen Lyra, pero por censura, mejor no cito la cita.
 M: **diga, diga (Verb V)**...aquí no hay censura, por lo menos no de mi parte.
 F: este mensaje como una muestra de que no me olvido de vos
 M: yo también te recuerdo siempre, aunque como te dije, no te escribo para no distraerte (direct object).
 F: y mis mejores deseos en tu trabajo y tu vida.
 M: **sírvase (Verb V)** lo mismo, bueno, más bien el doble para vos

*M: 'I told you, take (verb T)the time you need'

F: 'I'm as Carmen Lyra says, but due to censorship I do not quote the quote'

*M '**tell me, tell me (V)**, there is no censorship here, at least, not from my part'

F: 'this message as a sign that I don't forget about you.'

¹ This terminology poses some complications when applied to the Costa Rican variety of Spanish, since under the term T we can find three pronouns and not two (as it was in European languages when the terminology was conceived). The terminology poses a further problem since the pronoun *usted* can be employed under the term T and under the term V. Therefore, for clarification purposes the distinction of T/V will be maintained but also modified for the term T. V will always refer to *usted* with its deferential, formal meaning, and T will be specified as to be *T-tú*, *T-vos*, *T-usted*. The fact that the terminology conceived by Brown and Gilman does not match the constitution of the address forms system in Costa Rican Spanish calls for a new terminology and a new conceptualization of the theory related to address forms systems for languages that do not have a bipartite system.

² Current forms of the covariation are not analyzed in this dissertation, and no explanation about how this happens in current Costa Rican Spanish will be given. The examples are given to offer proof that this is a phenomenon occurring now extended in Costa Rican Spanish. The focus will be given to the historical analysis.

³ The pronouns for this example will be marked as follows: T examples are underlined; V' examples will be in **bold**. For those forms that refer to second person pronouns or verbal forms that are the same for *tú* or *vos*, bold and italics together will be used.

⁴ Email from a male, 43 years old answering an email message to a female friend, 38 years old, and friends since undergraduate higher education years.

*M: 'I always remember you too, although, as I told you, I do not write just to not distract you'

F: 'and my best wishes in your job and your life'

*M: 'the same for **you (V)**, well, actually twice for you'.

The male friend (M) is the speaker that shows covariation uses, even within the same speaking turn. With this example it is emphasized how the covariation can occur in the same conversation with the same interlocutor between the T (in this case, *vos*) and V address forms.

In order to appreciate the variation, example (1) was focused on verbal forms.

Example (2), illustrates the covariation between two T address forms, specifically, *vos* and *tú*, in an email a female friend (F) sends to a female friend. In this example the emphasis is given to the covariation between two address forms that belong, both, to the T term, specifically *vos* and *tú*.

Example (2), on the other hand, also illustrates the covariation, but, this time, it involves more than one category, that is, example (2) displays prepositional complement with the *Tvos* term and verbal forms with *Ttú* term, and also, *Tvos* as the subject pronoun:

(2) Covariation of vos/tú between two female friends⁵

F: Me encanta saber de vos (prepositional complement Tvos), te guardo mucho cariño y pensé que podría verte en la reunión (...) La última vez que supe de vos (prepositional complement Tvos) era cuando iban para Alemania, ahora nos *cuentas (Verbo Ttú)* que estás en USA. Eso me hace aún más gracia pues recuerdo nuestras charlas, detrás de la dirección cuando vos (subject pronoun Tvos) defendías el comunismo y Sylvia la cubana todo lo contrario, *¿recuerdas? (Verbo Ttú)*.

I love to have news from you (Tvós), I am very fond of you and I thought I could see you in the meeting (...) The last time I knew something from you (Tvós) was when you were going to Germany, now you *tell (Ttú)* us that you are in the USA. That's very funny, because I remember our conversations, behind the principal's office, when you (subject Tvós) defended the communism and Sylvia, the Cuban ,the opposite....do you *remember? (verbal Ttú)*'.

⁵ For example (2) Tvos will be underlined and *Ttú* will be in italics. PP means prepositional complement; verbal means verb.

As shown by the examples, the covariation is present across different grammatical categories. In example (1) the covariation is present between verbal forms; in example (2) the covariation can be appreciated by paying attention not just to the verbal form, but also other categories such as the prepositional complements and subject pronouns. Other categories can also reflect the covariation, but the phenomenon is so complex that, in order to really appreciate the covariation, more than one grammatical category has to be taken into account.

Some categories offer further complication. That is the case with the indirect/direct object pronoun for *vos* and the indirect/direct object pronoun for *tú*. In both cases, the indirect/direct object pronoun is **te**; therefore it is very difficult if not impossible to decide to which T term the **te** belongs and, consequently, it would be very difficult to determine if the covariation is present or not, hence, the importance of paying attention to the other grammatical categories. Another example of this complexity also affects the verbs. In present tense, *vos* and *tú* are clearly distinguishable: *tú dices* versus *vos decís*, *tú comes* versus *vos comés*; but in imperfect tense the forms for both *vos* and *tú* are the same: *tú decías* versus *vos decías* or in the preterit: *tú dijiste* versus *vos dijiste*.

Example (3) offers this more complex structure. The emphasis is given to verbal forms. Some are in *Ttú* and others in *Tvos*, other verbal forms displayed are homonyms (*vos* or *tú*); and indirect/direct object with T form for both T forms *vos* and *tú* (which are indistinguishable based solely on the morphological form, since for both pronouns the indirect/direct object pronoun is *te*). Again, in order to appreciate the covariation, more than one grammatical category is needed.

Example (3) offers a more complex overview of the covariation as it occurs currently in Costa Rican Spanish, and shows the covariation between verbs of the T form (*Ttú* and *Tvos*, and homonyms) but also the contrast between verbs and Indirect Object/Direct Object of the T term (also homonyms).

(3) Covariation of vos-tú between male and female friends⁶

M: Vieras (VerbalT) que pacho [situación o hecho divertido,] para buscarte (**IO/DO T**), como no me servían las direcciones viejas que tenía tuyas, puse tu nombre en el google y zas, salió tu nombre en varios sitios incluyendo varias en inglés, alemán y varias del grupo de música antigua. Wow, eres (Verbal Ttú) toda una personalidad de la Web. (...) eso de que me *recordás (Verbal Tvos)* con cariño es una onda de energía tuanis [agradable] que me llega desde lejos, y es mutuo

'You should see (VerbalT) how funny it was to find **you (IO/DO T)**, because your old email addresses were not working anymore, I wrote your name in Google and zas!, I found your name, including some sites in English, German and a few of the early music consort. Wow, you are a (Verbal Ttú) celebrity of the WWW. (...) that you *remember me (Verbal Tvos)* with affection is a cool energy wave that comes to me from so far, and it is mutual'

Example (3) offers an example about how complicated it can be to determine the covariation given the homonymity in some grammatical categories such as the indirect and the direct object, and the same verbal morphology for *vos* and *tú* in the imperfect and preterit tenses. This convergence in the forms reaffirms the need to look at more than one grammatical category in order to perceive the covariation.

An overview is now offered of how this linguistic phenomenon, as it occurs in Modern Costa Rican Spanish, has been addressed in research. It is considered very important to give this brief synopsis about what has already been done in present time so that a historical research is justified.

General studies of current Latin American Spanish indicate that the *voseo* (the use of *vos*) is in general use in Costa Rica (Paéz Urdaneta 1981; Lipski 1994). However, studies of Costa Rican Spanish have shown that the presence of *vos*, *usted* and *tú* (the latter in very specific contexts) in modern Costa Rican Spanish are all in alternation with each other. That is, these three pronouns can be used by the same speaker, to the same addressee, and in the same communicative situation (Agüero 1962; Villegas 1963; Arroyo 1971, Vargas 1974; and most

⁶ For example (3) VerbalT will be used for verbs that are homonyms for *vos* and *tú*, and it will be underlined. VerbTvos are verbs related to the T *vos* form (italics, underlined); **VerbTtú** are verbs related to the T *tú* form (bold, underlined) and **IO/DOT** is the indirect/direct object category for both T forms (*tú* and *vos*) (in bold).

recently, Solano 1985; Hasbún & Solís 1997, Vega González 1995, 2005 and Thomas, 2008). This dissertation will focus on uncovering the linguistic and social factors that historically created this alternate use.

In the late 90's, in regard to Modern Costa Rican Spanish, Hasbún and Solís (1997) carried out a study of address forms with 94 subjects (30 male and 64 females) from different social levels that worked at the Foreign Language Faculty of the University of Costa Rica. They used a questionnaire with questions referring to the use of address pronouns in specific conversations and interactions.⁷ Age and gender emerged as the more important factors (rather than social standing) in the Costa Rican society.⁸ There seems to be a tendency to use *usted* with older people and *vos* with younger people, no matter the social standing; *usted* seems to be used more to men than to women.⁹ In general, in their data, they report more use of *usted* than of *vos*. Furthermore, the authors add that more research is needed in order to determine the real percentages of mixed use of the pronouns: that is, the combination of *vos* + *usted*,¹⁰ used by the same speaker to the same addressee. With respect to *usted*, Hasbún and Solís point out:

“It should be determined if there are two meanings of the pronoun *usted*, and if the lack of clarity in the norms of use that was found in this study, is a consequence of the social changes that are taking place”. (Hasbún; Solís 1997)¹¹

⁷ The authors do not specify any context for the interaction established among the subjects they surveyed; therefore, it is not possible to know whether the interactions the participants were asked to respond to, were formal or informal. They do specify that the two address forms and variation that they are considering in this study are *vos* and *usted*.

⁸ According to their data, it seems that social standing is not related in the selection of the pronoun when addressing an interlocutor. As an example, the authors mention that a person can address his/her boss with *vos* if he/she happens to be at around the same age, but they use *usted* if the boss is older.

⁹ The authors of the study do not offer further information about this fact. They do not specify when men are addressed more with *usted* than women (e.g. by men to men, by women to men, younger men to older men, etc). They do not dispose of enough data to give any relevant information about this, and say it will be the topic of future research). They suggest that maybe the fact that in this study more females than males were surveyed, there could be a bias in the results.

¹⁰ Hasbún and Solís just consider the pronouns *vos* and *usted* for the variation.

¹¹ This is exactly one of the unknown factors that led us to focus on a historical research; the fact that the pronoun *usted* has two meanings. How has this address pronoun acquired this second meaning whereas in other areas of the Spanish-speaking world, it has just one? Hasbún and Solís for Modern Costa Rican Spanish mention: “In the first case, it is necessary to confirm if the high percentage in the use of “vos” that it is found for employees in the area of service is precise or, on the contrary, the participants in this research are simply overdoing it as a consequence of the discomfort that it is produced by that behavior. In the second place, it should be determined if the two meanings of “usted” do exist and if the lack of clarity regarding the use [of this pronoun *usted*] is a consequence of the social changes that are taking place” As it can be observed, the linguistic rules that determine this use haven't been satisfactorily explained. “En el primer caso, es necesario confirmar si el alto porcentaje de uso de “vos” que se reporta para los trabajadores del ramo de servicios es exacto, o si, por el contrario, los participantes en esta investigación están simplemente exagerando como consecuencia del desagrado que les produce esta conducta. En el

According to them, it seems that the general rule is: that in those situations when *vos* is always appropriate, *usted* is appropriate too, but not the other way around. This *usted* competing with *vos* is an informal *usted*, not the formal form used to indicate higher hierarchy or respect in other varieties of Spanish.

Hasbún and Solís find asymmetry in two contexts, that is, between a customer and a clerk and between family members. Family members or familiar relationships display not just hierarchical relationships but non-hierarchical relationships as well. In these contexts, they also exhibit mixed use of the pronouns. That is, a speaker can use more than one pronoun with a family member in the same conversation (e.g. use of *vos*, then shift to *usted* and then back to *vos*). Based on chart 5 of their study (mixed use of pronouns), Hasbún and Solís point out:

“The social norms the adults apply when addressing their relatives and close friends are unclear; important percentages of the use of both pronouns to address the same interlocutor are observed” (1997).^{12 13}

Based on Hasbún and Solís’ study, gender and age/generation will also be considered in this diachronic study.

Other studies also find a significant use of *usted*. Matthew and Palma (1980) report a high frequency of *usted* among older people, lower class and individuals in rural areas. Vega González (2005) also found the use of *vos* and *usted* (with an astonishing preponderance of *usted*) in grocery stores. The percentages of *usted* were between 89.36% and 68.69%; the percentages of use of *vos* were between 8.28% and 2.12%. Quesada Pacheco (1981) found, after examining three rural communities in Costa Rica, that isolation and the lack of media were factors that favored the use of *usted*.

With respect to *tú*, Vega González (2005) notes:

segundo caso, se debe determinar si existen dos significados del pronombre “usted”, y si la falta de claridad de las normas de uso que se encontró en este estudio, es consecuencia de los cambios sociales que se están llevando a cabo” (Hasbún; Solís 1997).

¹². [The social norms that adults apply when addressing relatives and close friends are unclear; important percentages in the use of both pronouns to address the same person are observed] The percentages are between 35,7% and 25,3%. “Las normas sociales que aplican los adultos en el tratamiento con sus familiares y personas cercanas son imprecisas; se observan porcentajes importantes de uso de ambos pronombres para dirigirse a una misma persona”.

¹³ That the origin of the variation was not clearly understood yet becomes obvious when the same authors state: Based on the information of chart 4, we can speculate that the shown variation has its origin at the inconsistent pattern of addressing they received when they were children. (Hasbún; Solís: 1997).

“I have observed some occurrences of *tú* in some stores and at reception desks of offices with high prestige in San José (...). The pronoun *tú* seems to be used in just limited situations, such as in liturgical discourse, in child play in which the child assumes the role of a superhero, in teenager language (Leerand 1995) with foreigners or in business relationships” (Vega González 2005:113).

In a previous study, however, Vega González had reported the use of *tú* in Costa Rican media (television and newspapers). He found that *tú* is more frequent than *vos* in the media, although a lower frequency to use *tú* in the media was noted in a later study (Vega González 1999). However, in his 2005 study, he did not find the use of *tú* between customers and employees in stores in a middle/low-middle class suburb of San José (Tibás), nor did he find tokens in his recordings in gyms and neighborhood grocery stores.

In a more recent study, Thomas (2008) describes the results of a questionnaire given to twenty Costa Ricans from the cities of San José, Alajuela, Heredia, Cartago, and Puntarenas (a city that belongs to the transition linguistic area that exists between the areas of the Central Valley dialect and the Northwestern dialect). Through this study, focused on the use of the pronoun *vos*, Thomas found that in certain specific contexts the speakers made clear that they could use or alternate between *usted* and *vos*, instead of using just one address form (*vos* or *usted*). This alternation was among the highest indicated by the speakers, mainly in family relationships and with friends; it is clear also from this study that the variation depends not only on the social relationship, but also on the context and the emotional state of the speaker (Thomas 2008: 186). Some of the speakers surveyed by Thomas commented upon the fact that they use both pronouns indiscriminantly with the same person in the same communicative situation (Thomas: 192). Another interesting finding by Thomas is the asymmetrical¹⁴ use of *vos*, a factor that makes the Costa Rican voseo quite different from the voseo in other Latin-American dialects (such as Argentinean voseo, which is symmetrical according to Fontanella de Weinberg). He

¹⁴ Asymmetrical and symmetrical use of pronouns happens in the context of the exchange between speaker and hearer. In symmetrical interactions, speaker and hearer are considered to have the same status, therefore the same address form is given and received. In asymmetrical interactions speaker and hearer are considered of having different status, therefore the pronoun that is received is not the same as the pronoun given. In the case of Costa Rica, examples of asymmetrical voseo can happen in a context in which the grandparent or the parent addresses the grandchild/child with *vos* whereas the grandchild/child addresses the older relatives with *usted*. Another possible context of asymmetrical voseo registered by Thomas (2008) is the one existent at the work place in which the boss can address employees with *vos*, but not the other way around. (2008:190)

also points out to the status of *usted* as an unmarked pronoun¹⁵, as it is used in all the communicative situations and *vos* as a marked pronoun¹⁶, since it is used in specific communicative contexts, between family and friends. Uses of *tú* were reported in low frequency and commented by the participants in the survey as “non typical for Costa Rica” (Thomas: 187).

A co-variation between *vos*, *tú* and *usted* has been reported since the 60s, with *tú* particularly at written level, but more remarkably in the last two decades. The co-variation seems to be more frequent between *vos* and *usted*, and next with *tú*, but there is no study that has explained **how this co-variation came to be. Therefore, the focus of this doctoral study will be historical in character, and the goal will be to determine the historical changes that cause the present covariation as a result.**

This doctoral study will focus on the Central Valley dialect since this is the area reported in the literature that displays the covariation in the use of the second person pronouns as mentioned earlier (see Map 1). It should be noted as well that the use of the pronouns can also differ in the Central Valley dialect, depending upon whether or not it is an urban or rural area (Quesada:1981).

Other dialects, the Northwestern Region of Costa Rica and the transition linguistic area among these two dialects, do not display covariation between the T forms. In a pilot study carried out in 2005 (Cabal-Jiménez, 2005)¹⁷, and based on a sample of 15 questionnaires it was found that in the Northwestern area, *usted* is used reciprocally between grandparents, parents and children, and *vos* is used with less frequency between these relatives; *vos* is also used with friends. This use reflects a typical T/V system (Brown and Gilman, 1960).

Regarding other areas of Costa Rica, such as the Atlantic Coast, the same pilot study provided the information that *usted* is also used between grandparents, parents and children; *vos* is used occasionally with grandparents and parents. Interestingly, some instances of the use of *tú* were found with foreigners and acquaintances and with second order family members (cousins, aunts, uncles), with the general meaning of expressing less solidarity. In the southeastern region

¹⁵ This terminology is employed by Thomas on his article about the metalinguistics considerations of Costa Rican voseo. The opposition marked versus unmarked makes reference to the broader vs. narrower use of each term of the opposition. The unmarked pronoun, in this study, will be *usted*, because it has a broader use, e.g. in all communicative contexts. On the other hand, the marked pronoun, in this case *vos*, will have a narrower use, in this case, the *vos* will be used only in contexts in which familiarity and solidarity are expressed. These terms are explained here as they are mentioned by Thomas, but these terms will not be used in this doctoral dissertation.

¹⁶ See previous note.

¹⁷ Cabal-Jiménez, Munia. Tinker pilot study. Uses and perception of the personal pronouns “vos” and “tú”. Tinker Research Grant. Center for Latin-American Studies. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Summer 2005.

of Costa Rica and its border with Panama, it is difficult to determine if there is variation or not due to the lack of linguistic studies in these areas, general or specific.



Map 1.1: Dialectal areas of Costa Rica (elaborated by Javier Romero, 2006).

Summarizing, this historical study will be focused primarily on the covariation of *vos* and *usted*, and secondarily, on the covariation with *tú*, when present. The covariation in Modern Costa Rican Spanish is present not just at the level of the subject pronouns. In cases when there is no subject and just the verb or a direct/indirect object pronoun are present, the covariation is also evident¹⁸. The same type of covariation across linguistic categories will be examined in the historical study. Another aspect to take into account that makes the appreciation of this phenomenon very complicated, as it was mentioned before, is the fact that between the forms related to *tú* and *vos* (verbal forms in preterit and in imperfect subjunctive, direct or indirect forms) are morphologically similar, e.g. *vos dijiste*, *tú dijiste*, *vos vieras*, *tú vieras*). As it was illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, the covariation can be present in verbal forms, some forms in voseo (*tomá*, *decí*) and other forms in *usted* form (*tome*, *diga*) and some in the *tú* form (*recuerdas*, *cuentas*), but also across linguistic categories such as indirect/direct object pronoun,

¹⁸ This is important to take into account, since Spanish is a pro-drop language.

prepositional complements, and determiners (*tu*, *tuyo* for the T forms, versus *su*, *suyo* for the V forms). As it has been summarized previously, studies in Costa Rican Spanish carried out in the 20th century describe covariation of the second person singular pronouns *vos* and *usted* among family members and friends. However, *tú* can also participate in this variation, though it seems that at lower frequencies.

The objective of this dissertation research is to explain, from a historical perspective, how this covariation (of two and sometimes three-forms) evolved in this dialect of Spanish, by uncovering the factors (internal and external) that historically have determined the covariation we see nowadays. Therefore, this study will look back in time to determine, from a historical perspective, if the covariation was also present in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish and what factors (internal and external) triggered the covariation. This is, therefore, a historical study of Costa Rican Spanish from previous centuries, and not from Modern Costa Rican Spanish.

The next section offers an overview on the development of the address forms in Spanish from Latin to Modern Spanish and with a general overview of the address forms systems throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

1.1 Address Forms in Spanish: Historical background

Historically, *tú* and *vos* derive from Latin; while *usted* evolved in 15th century Spanish from the noun phrase *vuestra merced* ‘your highness’, contracted to *usted* ‘you (formal)’.

The Latin personal pronouns were marked for four separate cases: nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative/ablative. Second person had two forms, a singular and a plural form (illustrated in Table 1), that is, *vos* was originally a plural second person pronoun which later in the period known as Old Spanish (between the 10th and the 15th centuries) evolved into a singular form.

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	Tu	Vos
Genitive	Tui	Vestrus, -a, -um, Vestri
Dative	Tibi	Vōs
Accusative/Ablative.	Te	Vōs

Table 1.1: Second personal pronouns in Latin (Lloyd 1989: 92)

In the transition from Early Latin (first century B.C.) to Late Latin (first century A.D.), the most salient factor was the loss of the genitive case. Eventually, in the transition from Late Latin to Old Spanish, the case distinction between accusative and dative was substituted by a distinction between stressed and unstressed forms, with *te* being the atonic (accusative) pronoun and *ti* the tonic (dative) pronoun. Regarding the plural forms, only *vos* survived, since the genitive was lost (table 1.2).

CASE	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Nominative	Tú	Vos
Accusative	Te	Vos
Dative	Ti	Con vusco ¹⁹

Table 1.2: Second personal pronouns in transition from Late Latin to Old Spanish (Lloyd 1989: 278)

While in Latin, TU addressed a single individual and VOS addressed more than one individual, in Old Spanish a deferential *vos* (to address a single person) appeared, mainly to address the Emperor. This development in the language took place in the other Romance languages as well (cf. Fr. *Vous*, It. *Voi*, Pr. *Você*), all referring to second person singular pronoun. Its use was extended to others when it was necessary to address others in contexts in which some formality or politeness was necessary (Penny 2002: 137). The system used in Old Spanish (10th to 15th centuries) appears in Table 3 (Penny 2002: 138)²⁰.

	Singular	Plural
Non-Deferential	Tú	
Deferential	Vos	Vos

Table 1.3: 2nd personal pronouns in Old Spanish (Penny 2002: 138)

The pronoun *vos* used to express respect is already found in the *Cantar del Mio Cid* (an epic poem from the 12th - 13th century). In this text we find the pronominal and verbal forms of both

¹⁹ The preposition *cum* was usually added enclitically to the accusative form of first and second pronouns. In this case, to the second pronoun *vos*, which in Late Latin (first century A.D.), had the form *voscum*. With the loss of case distinction, according to Lloyd, and with the voicing of the /-k-/ the forms were not recognizable anymore, then speakers added again *cum* at the beginning, which in turn, gave the form *con vusco* for the dative *con vusco*.

²⁰ Only in this introductory chapter, the terms “deferential” and “non-deferential” will be kept,

vos and *tú* (Rojas and Resnick (1980: 90, 1992:149). The deferential address was used between noblemen, but also between spouses of higher classes. *Tú* was used when addressing individuals and between the individuals located at the lower levels of the social scale (Lapesa 1980: 579).

During the 15th and 16th centuries the variation in the use of the pronouns and their corresponding verbal forms continues in Spain. The period between the 15th and the 17th was a very complex period regarding the personal pronouns systems; therefore, the development of each pronoun is described separately.

1.2.1 Vos

During 15th century Spain, *vos* was used mainly as a second person plural pronoun, but also as a second person singular pronoun of respect as mentioned earlier. Well into the 16th century, *vos* was used to address people that belonged to the higher strata of society; between people with the same high social standing, and with foreigners. During the 16th century, *vos* also started to alternate with *tú* until the 17th century, when it became stigmatized and was associated with lower economic classes (Micheau 1991). During the 18th century, the use of *vos* in Spain disappeared, but was maintained in various regions of Latin-America.

1.2.2 Tú

During the 15th century, while *vos* was the form of respect, *tú* was used among people of the same lower social class. However, it was also used to address an interlocutor who belonged to a lower socio-cultural level. *Tú* alternated with *vos* in the 16th century until the 17th century when addressing individuals of lower strata. However, during the 18th century (cf. Lapesa 1980), while *tú* experienced a remarkable comeback in familiar context, *vos* disappeared in Spain. (579).

1.2.3 Vuestra Merced

Vuestra Merced, an expression of respect, appeared towards the end of the 15th century, displacing “*vos* of its original place” (Rojas 1992: 145). During the next two centuries, it was used to address superiors (Plá Cárceles 1923). In the 17th century, *Vuestra Merced* evolved into *usted*. (Plá Cárceles 1923: 245).

1.2.4 16th century second person pronominal system

The pronominal system during the 16th century in Spain was, then, in a transition period with the appearance of *Vuestra Merced* in the deferential axis and the alternate use of *tú* and *vos* in the non-deferential axis. Following Penny (2002: 138), at the beginning of the Golden Age (15th – 17th centuries), the pronoun address system was constituted by a system marked by deferential distinctions, where *tú* and *vos* competed in non-deferential contexts.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) | Golden Age | [+ deferential] | <i>vuestra merced</i> |
| | (15 th -17 th) | [- deferential] | <i>tú ~ vos</i> |

During this period, the political-administrative structure of the Spanish Kingdom in the New World (what is now Latin America) was constituted upon an administrative structure of Viceroyalties and *Audiencias*. This administrative organization had an impact in the distribution of the address forms which continued to evolve in the Spanish of the New World. According to Lapesa (1970), the central areas of the viceroyalties (Mexico City and Lima) eventually received the peninsular address form *tú*, while the more isolated and less influenced regions maintained the earlier form *vos* (Central America, Buenos Aires). Some areas, (Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras) however, displayed a *tú/vos* system (Carricaburo, 1997).

The competition between *tú* and *vos* was resolved in favor of non-deferential *tú* in Spain and in central regions of Latin America (Perú, México, Caribbean Islands and most of Venezuela). In these regions *usted* (*ustedes*, plural) was used as the deferential form (Penny 2002: 138).²¹ In other regions of Latin America, however, *vos* was maintained. In some regions, it evolved as the only form for 2nd person singular (e.g. in Argentina, Nicaragua, Paraguay). However, in other regions such as El Salvador and Honduras, *vos* still competes with *tú*.²² Costa Rica is one of the few countries (together with Honduras, Castro-Mitchell 1991; and Colombia, Millán 2011) that have been described as having a non-deferential *usted*, next to *vos* and *tú* (Lipski 1994; Vega 2005; Quesada Pacheco 2006). As a consequence, the Spanish language

²¹ Regarding the plural forms, the difference among the non-deferential form (*vosotros*) and deferential form (*ustedes*) was also in favor of *ustedes*, except in Northern Spain, where the non-deferential/deferential use of *vosotros/ustedes* is still maintained.

²² Other areas where *vos* and *tú* compete are Bolivia, part of Perú, part of Ecuador, part of Colombia, and western Venezuela, according to Fontanella de Weinberg (1995).

displays four pronominal address systems in the second person singular, with specific geographical distributions.²³

Category	Ia		Ib		II		III		IV	
[-def]	Tú	Vosotros	Tú	Ustedes	vos	Ustedes	Vos, tú	ustedes	Vos, tú, usted	Ustedes
[+def]	Usted	Ustedes	Usted	Ustedes	usted		usted	ustedes	usted	Ustedes
Geog. Distr.	Northern Spain.		Andalucía, Canarias, Mexico, Perú.		Argentina, Nicaragua.		Paraguay, Colombia, El Salvador,		Costa Rica, Honduras, Colombia	

**Table 1.4 Geographic distribution of the second person pronoun in the Hispanic World
(Based on Fontanella de Weinberg 1995)**

As mentioned earlier, this research concentrates on a description of the evolution of system IV in Costa Rican Spanish.

The next section explains how the issue of covariation has been approached in previous diachronic linguistic studies regarding the Costa Rican address form system and will make clear that no satisfactory explanation has been given for the development of the address form system in this variety of Spanish.

1.2 Evolution of Costa Rican Address Forms

The present address form system in Costa Rican Spanish displays a very complex system, where *vos*, *tú* and *usted* compete in the non-deferential parameter. Moreover, the three pronouns, or at least two forms, can be used by the speaker with the same interlocutor in the same conversation (Quesada 2006: 1). Quesada interprets this to mean that “in this part of the isthmus...there is, still, no stability in the pronominal address form system” (Quesada: 2006). Based on an analysis and comparison of Costa Rican colonial and postcolonial manuscripts, documents, private letters, newsletters and testimonies, Quesada proposes that since colonial

²³ This is not an exhaustive description; there is much internal variation within the systems.

times, the 2nd pronominal person and verbal address form system employs various pronouns to express deferential and non deferential distinctions.

What he seems to be suggesting is that while during the 16th and 17th centuries, *vos*, *vuestras Mercedes*, *vuesa merced* and *vuesencia*, and later *usted*, were pronouns used in hierarchical (deferential) relationships, and *tú* already competed with *vos* in non hierarchical (non-deferential) relationships. This multiplicity of forms (pronouns) during these centuries leads Quesada to propose an *overload* on the system (Quesada 2006: 11).²⁴ By *overload*, Quesada might suggest the presence of various address forms to express the second person category.

Quesada puts forward a visual and historical description of the 2nd person pronoun system in Costa Rican Spanish (adapted in Table 5). He does not provide, however, data or analysis to explain nor support the changes he proposes. Moreover, no evidence is presented to explain what he means by the *alternation* and the *hybridization* of the forms. His description of the distribution of the address form system in Costa Rica is presented through the Brown & Gilman dyad of power and solidarity, isolated from any social factors that could have played a role in Costa Rican colonial society (see Table 5).

Power and solidarity are two dimensions of social life expressed through the address form pronouns. Historically, both pronouns, T and V (Brown and Gilman, 1960) were not used reciprocally. Later, these pronouns expressed a distinct use: T was used to express that specific participants in a given interaction belonged to the same social status, and, that they were close/familiar to each other. On the other hand, V indicated that the participants in the interaction belonged to the same social group but were not close/familiar to each other.

Thus, according to Quesada, based on the Brown & Gilman framework, the address form system in Costa Rican Spanish, in colonial times, was as follows (original technical terminology is kept):

²⁴ Nevertheless, there are some (non scientific) reports that during the 19th century, the pronoun *tú* was not used in Costa Rican Spanish, as two German travelers describe (reported also by Quesada):

„Der Vater wie der Lehrer nennen schon den siebenjährigen Buben „Señor“ und reden ihn mit dem gebräulichen „Usted“ welches in der Spanischen Sprache der verkürzte Ausdruck für „Vuestra Merced“ (Ew(re) Gnaden) ist und unter „Sie“ vertritt. Das „Du“ ist nicht gebräulich, und könnte züglich aus der Spanischen Grammatik gestrichen werden. Die vielgebrauchte Höflichkeitsphrase „Hágame el favor“ (thun [sic] mir den Gefallen) wendet der Vater wie der Schulmeister schon an Jungen an, die erst das ABC lernen“ (Wagner & Scherzer 1857: 187).

‘The father and the teacher call the seven year old boy „Señor“ and talk to him with the usual “Usted”, which in the Spanish language is the short-expression for “Vuestra Merced” that represents the German “Sie”. The “Du” [tú] is not employed, and could be eliminated from the Spanish grammar. The very common politeness-expression “Hágame el favor” (“Please, do this favor to me”) is used by the father and by the school teacher with young children who are learning the ABC’s’.

<i>Century</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Solidarity</i>
16 th -17 th	Vos Vuestra Merced	Tú
18 th	Usted Su Merced	Vos Tú Usted
19 th	Usted	Vos Tú Usted
20 th	Usted	Vos Tú (incipient) Usted

Table 1.5: Address forms used in Costa Rican Spanish in colonial times
(Adapted from Quesada 2006: p. 5, 8, 10, 11)²⁵

A reanalysis of Quesada's chart suggests a different situation. Between the 16th-17th and 18th centuries in Costa Rican Spanish, the pronoun *vos* experiences a shift from being used in hierarchical relationships to non hierarchical relationships (indicating solidarity).²⁶ Similarly, during the 18th century, the use of pronoun *usted* is extended to being used both in hierarchical relationships and in non-hierarchical relationships (see table 6).

Rosenblat has explained the shift of *vos* (from a power to a solidarity pronoun) with the 'hidalguización' hypothesis. By 'hidalguización' hypothesis Rosenblat refers to the social process that took place during the conquest of the New World regarding the social standing of the conquerors. He proposes that during this period, the original Peninsular social structures were restructured in Latin America and, therefore, did not reflect those in Spain. Under these survival conditions, the first colonizers (administrative staff, soldiers, priests) of all strata experienced the same social conditions. Consequently, the social differences dissolved and as a result, social homologation among all social strata took place, allowing people in the lower strata to 'ascend' socially.²⁷ As a consequence, according to Quesada, already in the 18th century *vos* was in covariation with the pronoun *usted* in the non-deferential axis.

²⁵ There is no *vos* use for non-deferential relationships previous to 18th century. The first documentation to date of the non-deferential *vos* in Costa Rican Spanish is from 1723, in a letter that a farmer sent to a farm worker (actually, it is a *vos* use meaning a deferential relationship (*vos* verés 'you will see.....'). Two years later, in 1725, Quesada reports the first documentation of *vos* used in a non-deferential relationship, one friend exhorts to his friend to marry a woman: "te casáis con esta mujer" 'you will marry this woman', Quesada later points out that at this point with the subject form *vos*, both verbal *casáis*, *casás* were used in co-variation.

²⁶ Terms which seem to better describe the situation.

²⁷ Consequently, the different varieties of Spanish present in the New World went through a process of **leveling** in which linguistic differences were leveled and a new variety appeared as a result, a **koiné**, which is a type of variety

1.3 Research questions and hypothesis

In this dissertation, the following four research questions will be addressed:

(1) Why is there a repertoire of second person singular pronouns in the deferential axis in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish? (2) What are the factors that historically triggered the covariation of the second person singular pronouns in the non-deferential axis in Costa Rican Spanish from the 16th century to the first two decades of the 20th century? (3) How did *usted* extend its use to include both deferential and non-deferential relationships? The focus of this dissertation will be then to describe the address form system in Costa Rican Spanish from the 16th to the 20th century, by analyzing personal letters and excerpts from manuscripts. The objective is to provide a sociolinguistic and historical account for the variation of the second person singular pronoun in the non-deferential axis and give an explanation, from the perspective of semantic change, on how the *usted* pronoun acquired the non-deferential meaning, based on internal and external factors of the language.

Century	Deferential relationship	Non-deferential relationship
16 th - 17 th	Vos Vuestra merced	Tú
18 th	Usted Su merced	Vos Tú Usted
19 th	Usted	Vos Tú Usted
20 th	Usted	Vos Tú (incipient) Usted

Table 1.6: Reanalysis of Quesada's address for system used in Costa Rican Spanish

Analyzing Table 1.6, the evolution of the Costa Rican address form system seems to display an *overload*. While the column of deferential relationships displayed two forms during the 16th - 17th centuries, and only one in the 20th century, the non hierarchical relationship column

that displays linguistic characteristics of the original dialects in contact. Later on, some of them are favored and remain in the system; others are discarded as a part of the linguistic structure of the variety (Granda 1994: 13-48)

displayed one form during the 16th-17th centuries, but now displays a complex system in the 20th century.

(4) The fourth research question asks: what are the (internal and external) factors that have triggered these changes towards an increasing complexity in the non deferential relationship axis?

The expansion in function of the *usted* pronoun has not been explained in the literature. However, based on the evidence of recent studies, the following is hypothesized:

Hypothesis:

The covariation present during colonial times in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish is not chaotic as has been previously presented and can be explained a) through linguistics factors and b) by social factors related to the communicative context (pragmatic context). It is hypothesized that *usted* acquired this non-deferential meaning as a way to navigate face at around the time in which Costa Rican society was making the transition from an agricultural subsistence economy to the beginning of agrarian capitalism. This factor, navigating a more complex social and economic system was the impetus for the new function of *usted*.

In order to respond to these questions three theoretical and methodological approaches will be used: variationist linguistics, semantic change, and politeness theory, which are presented in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The focus of this study is the evolution of the informal second person address forms *vos*, and *tú* and the formal/informal *usted* in Costa Rican Spanish, at written level, in the dialect spoken in the Central Valley region, with special emphasis on the pronoun *usted*. The study focuses mainly on the evolution of the pragmatic function of *usted*; the main process of grammaticalization of *usted* occurred previously in the period from 16th century to 18th century, when it evolved from *Vuestra Merced* to *usted*. For the discussion of the pronoun *usted* and other address forms, formal contexts will be considered. From all the address forms analyzed in this study, the pragmatic expansion of *usted* is the most interesting, and occurred between 18th c. to the first half of the 20th century: when *usted 1* (the canonical use) evolved to *usted 2* (when the pronoun experienced pragmatic expansion).

The study also concentrates on explaining the change that took place inside the address form system in Costa Rican Spanish from one form in informal context to three forms in the informal context.

By change it is understood to mean the internal adjustments of the system in regard to the address forms. A particular form is selected from among multiple forms available and its use is propagated throughout a speech community or, the rule that governs the use of that form changes over time. In the specific case of Colonial Costa Rican Spanish the change implies an adjustment of the forms available (which is also considered by some authors as a form of change. See Penny 2002). The change that will be analyzed in this study, particularly regarding the change of the pronoun *usted*, is pragmatic in nature, that is, the change experienced by the pronoun has to do more with the application of the pragmatic rules of use to the pronoun *usted*. The focus on change then, is seen in this study as a change that is conditioned by pragmatic factors. Those pragmatic factors have to do with the social dynamics of colonial Costa Rican society and the use of the language within a community characterized by dynamic changes in its constitution throughout history, mainly during the 19th to the first half of the 20th century.

Other languages have also evolved in their address form system in a similar way. Studies of Shakespearean English are an excellent example. In her study of the nominal address forms used in Shakespearean literature works such as *King Lear*, *Othello* and *Hamlet*, (Mazzon 2002:

224-225), Mazzon explains how the address form system in English is a system that has undergone a process of shrinking. Old English and Early Middle English had the following address form system:

Address form	Singular	Plural
Informal	Thou	Ye
Formal	Thee	You

Table 2.1: Address form system in Old English/Early Middle English (Mazzon: 224)

The change in English shows how that system has undergone a similar process as in Spanish: from four address forms, the system has evolved and reduced itself to one form.

According to Mazzon, occurrences of *you* to address a single interlocutor can be found already during the 13th century “but exclusive use of *you* soon became predominant, thus leading to the second important systemic change: the contrast between polite and intimate forms is excluded from the standard, and only one pronoun form is left”. (Mazzon: 224).²⁸

In summary, the changes in English implied the disappearance of 1. The opposition between singular and plural second person address forms, and 2. The disappearance of the opposition between formal and informal, leaving *you* as the only address form in the system.

Simon (2002) also demonstrates how German has evolved in its address system comparing the address forms systems in Middle High German (MHG) with the address form system in Modern Standard German (MSG). Historically, MHG used two pronouns in second person, *DU* as the second person singular pronoun and *IR*, which was originally a second person plural pronoun used to address one single speaker through the use of a pragmatic rule (this use comes from as early as the 9th century). In MSG there are two pronouns in second person as well: *DU* for the second person singular and *SIE*, which is the polite form expressing “respect”, which, according to Simon, is a grammaticalised form²⁹. The transition from MHG to MSG involved a sequence of several systems. The basic pronoun *DU* comes from Common Germanic. Over the course of time, several additional pronouns entered the system, each of them more polite than the previous one, but not supplanting any of the earlier pronouns. The inventory expanded and eventually the intermediate forms disappeared and only the pronouns at the

²⁸ The other important systemic change was the loss of the distinction between singular and plural.

²⁹ It relates to a different personal pronoun that comes from the 3rd person plural pronoun. It is grammaticalised because the pronoun has acquired the semantic meaning of respect.

extreme ends of the scale remained: basic *DU* and polite *SIE* (with *Ihr* still as the second person plural address form). Simon shows that the inclusion of the newer pronouns followed a zigzag path to the current usage in MSG.

The first part of this chapter will present a background that should help to illuminate the social dynamics of the language during the colonial period. This examines the society regarding its initial constitution and its flux through the socioeconomic history and development of Costa Rican society since the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 20th century. This background is pivotal to understand the evolution of the pronoun *usted*, particularly during the 19th and the 20th centuries. It is also necessary to understand the choice of the theoretical perspectives employed in this dissertation as well as to justify the methodology and analysis used. The second part will explain the different theoretical perspectives taken into account in this study, which are:

1. Dialectology and sociolinguistics: variation and social networks.
2. Historical linguistics: semantic change.
3. Politeness theory.

2.1 Social dynamics and a society in flux: Economic and social history and the interaction dynamics in Costa Rica, from the 16th to the 20th centuries

In the historical account of the development of colonial and postcolonial Costa Rican society, the perspective has prevailed that Costa Ricans developed an egalitarian society. This idea started with the narrative perspective forwarded by liberals³⁰ in the 19th century, based on the chronicles of the Spanish conquerors about colonial Costa Rica. This first account portrayed a very poor society in which, since all were poor, all individuals were more or less equal in social standing. This view does not consider that in reality, from the very beginning there were differences in status regarding diverse ethnic groups (people from African descent, indigenous people and *mulatos*³¹). Equality in poverty, however, did not dictate equal social standing as there were other ways in which society marked social differences. Ethnicity was one way of

³⁰ In Latin American context, “liberal” denotes the center-right/right political wing, unlike the accepted definition in North America.

³¹ ‘Mulato’ is the Spanish word to denominate any person whose parents are one of African descent and the other one of European (Spaniard) origin (in this context).

differentiating, since the population was divided according to the ethnicity of individuals as mulatto, native indian or African descent, and also, access to education and literacy was another criteria.^{32, 33}

A second important factor regarding the constituency of Costa Rican society was the view provided by the social democrats in the first half of 20th century. This factor was based on the theory that Costa Rican colonial society was free of social classes and castes, and, in general, each Costa Rican individual or family owned a piece of land (at least, in the Central Valley, the area under study and where the central government was settled). In theory, this helped provide a very stable colonial society. Costa Rica was a society that was built around an agrarian model based on the ownership of individual property. According to this model, this view was based on economic criteria which led to the idea of equal social standing. Molina (1991) has called this *the rural democracy of the 18th century*.³⁴

Other historians³⁵ refer to the self-sufficient (individualistic) attitude of Costa Ricans, as a result of the isolated life that peasants experienced within the Central Valley. Although they lived on their own farms, there was a lack of well constituted settlements, a factor that had an impact in the way Costa Rican individuals established their social relationships and, therefore, the way they interacted with each other.

2.1.1 The social structure of the colonial society: from 1560 to 1750

The colonization of Costa Rica was completely different from any other Spanish colonial territory in the New World. Geographically, the territory was very rugged and difficult to travel in. Torrential rain and dense jungle made even following natural routes very difficult. It was one

³² Even in historical studies it is seen that the selection of sociolinguistic variables in the constitution of Hispanic varieties in Latin America should be done under a different perspective than the Labovian approach. Literacy and education have more weight in a Latin-American context than social class (in terms of its financial status). Middle or low class people achieve a high standard of education and wealthy people are not always necessarily well educated.

³³ Víctor Acuña and Iván Molina refer to the division of Costa Rican society into different groups according to their ethnicity in the book “Historia económica y social de Costa Rica: 1750-1950” (1991). Regarding the access to education and literacy, the book titled “Educación en Costa Rica 1821-1940” (1991) by Juan Carlos Quesada was used, and also the books of Carlos Meléndez on early colonial history of Costa Rica: *Historia de Costa Rica* (1999) and *Conquistadores y pobladores: Orígenes histórico-sociales de los costarricenses* (1982).

³⁴ “Ambos factores, explica Monge Alfaro, son los rasgos fundamentales de lo que él llamó “la democracia rural del siglo XVIII””. (Molina 1991: 24) [Both factors, explains Monge Alfaro, are the fundamental traits of what he called “the rural democracy of the 18th century”].

³⁵ Cordero, José A. 1980. “El ser de la nacionalidad costarricense”. Editorial de la Universidad Estatal a Distancia. San José Costa Rica y Rodríguez Vega, Eugenio. 2003. “Biografía de Costa Rica”. Editorial Costa Rica. San José, Costa Rica.

of the last regions to be entered by the Spaniards and it was not considered to be an important area. Often, Spanish explorers and would-be colonists found the area so unpleasant that the majority of them did not stay, choosing to return to previous colonies or even all the way back to Spain. Thus, the initial colonists were generally not high-ranking nobility or even middle rank.

The process of the creation and development of the main settlements or towns in Costa Rica's Central Valley did not follow a specific pattern. Spaniards encountered many obstacles due to the nature of the region: extremely difficult terrain, ragging rivers, torrential rain and in general territory that was very difficult to access. Initially the Spaniards planned to subdue the territory from a location in the Central Valley. The "encomienda"³⁶ system failed due to indigenous resistance and attrition of the native population during the 16th century³⁷. The first city founded in the Central Valley was *El Castillo de Garcimuñoz*, founded in the year 1561, by Juan de Cavallón, but within only a few years was moved to another location (Guarco Valley) in 1564, and was renamed Cartago. The first settlements in the Central Valley were close to Cartago, but eventually, new settlements were created in the western end of the Central Valley. These locations were relatively far from each other and due to the difficult terrain and travelling conditions, access that usually would take only hours elsewhere took days, and it was very difficult to keep in contact with the administrative center of Cartago. During the 18th century and after, many attempts by the administrative authorities to force inhabitants scattered through the Central Valley to stay together resulted in the establishment of three new important cities which became part of the Central Valley landscape. The first city was Heredia (known during colonial times as *Villa Vieja*), which by 1741 had a population of 6,500. Another city, that later became the capital of Costa Rica, was *San José* (formerly known as *Cuartel de la Boca del Monte*), with a population of 5,000 in the year 1783. Lastly, the city of *Alajuela* (known as *Villa Hermosa*) was founded during the second half of the 18th century. After 1801, the population of Alajuela reached 3,000 inhabitants. These three cities were the result of migratory movements of the

³⁶ "Encomienda" was a system created by the Spanish Crown through which control over land and Indians was given to an "encomendero" (the person to whom such control was granted).

³⁷ The "encomienda" was not successful due to the fast disappearance of the indigenous native population that lived in the Central Valley. The "cabécares", the largest indigenous group that lived in the Central Valley when the Spaniards arrived in year 1560, saw its population diminish to the point of total disappearance towards the end of 16th century already, in a matter of 40 years. (...By death; also survivors fled into the forests of the Atlantic region and offered resistance from there). (Meléndez 1982)

population already existent in the Central Valley, towards the west of the Central Valley. Towards the end of the 18th century, the population of Costa Rica was 52,591 inhabitants.

These towns were created as a result of an effort from the part of the Spanish Administration to concentrate the population in towns, in order to have an administrative and ecclesiastical organization of the land. The population was forced to become part of the towns, and in some cases the individuals were threatened to have their farms burned to ashes if they refused to relocate to the new settlements. All these towns have in common that they were created around a “parroquia”, a parish church. The preference to migrate towards the west continued, and affected later stages of socio-economic development of the Central Valley (González Salas: 1991). The foundation of the urban-like towns takes place around the 1730's (*San José*, before named *Villa de la Boca del Monte*, built up its parish church in the year 1736). They were created within the context of the Bourbonic Reforms (early 18th century) which tried to force people to live in settlements and create cities so that the administration could formalize the ownership of the land, with the ultimate purpose of taxing the owners.

This process of gradual population growth in the Central Valley had profound impact on the structure of the economy, and, in turn, had an impact on the social structure of Costa Rican society during colonial times. This gradual population change during the 17th and the 18th centuries was shaped by two phenomena: On one hand, there was an increase in the number of non-indigenous individuals (six out of ten individuals (60%) were *mestizos*, 9% of the population was constituted by Spaniards, 14% of the population was indigenous). According to Edwin González (1991) and Meléndez, some immigration came from Spain towards the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century³⁸. A gradual decrease in the size of the indigenous population was due to the violence of conquest, the resultant lack of interest and apathy towards life in general, and the economic and social adjustment that the new political and social order demanded to which the indigenous population could not adjust as rapidly. Therefore, the decrease in the indigenous population was not a consequence of the increase of the non-indigenous population, but due to the other external factors already mentioned. As a direct consequence of these factors, the decrease of the indigenous population (and therefore, the

³⁸ Costa Rica was one the last areas of the New World to be conquered according to Meléndez (1982). It was the last area of the Central American region to be reached by the conquerors. Although a significant number of the first families came from the Audiencia de Guatemala, the closest administrative unit of the Spanish Crown, still the main conquerors (Juan Vásquez de Coronado, Alonso Anguciana de Gamboa) came from Spain to lead the expeditions toward this part of the Central American isthmus.

decreased size of the indigenous slave work force) and the increase of the *mestizo* population generated a unique situation regarding the availability of work force. At the same time, the increase of the non-indigenous population had as a consequence the problem of equal access to the ownership of the land. For that reason, the government provided land to all individuals who wanted to immigrate internally towards the western part of the Central Valley. The resultant changes in the distribution of the population across the central area of the country had an important impact on the society, and, specifically, on the expansion in the number of establishments of coffee plantations in the Central Valley.

In order to fully understand how all this process could constitute the [social] trigger for the shift in the meaning of the pronoun *usted*, we have to take a look at the development of the economy during this colonial period in Costa Rican history, and the transition of the country from an economy based on subsistence (colonial period), towards an economy based on agrarian capitalism (19th century). The economic activity in Costa Rica at the beginning of the colonial period was centered around three activities: the production of cacao in the Atlantic coast, cattle ranches at the northwestern area (north Pacific) and commerce (basically, the trade of the surplus of the agricultural activity and the trade regarding basic goods as tools, soap, candles, and handicrafts). The elite group, consisting of the original conquerors and their families (the so called *founding families*) based their power on using the economic surplus, instead of controlling the administration of the land (monopoly), and/or the relationship with the servants. The dominant group was basically a class of merchants. Recent research on the economic structures of colonial Costa Rica offers a very different perspective regarding what has been considered the origin of *what it means to be Costa Rican* (“el ser costarricense”). Traditionally, in reference to the colonial period, it has been considered that the Costa Rican individual lived in a world based on ownership of small land parcels, where everybody was equal in social standing, with a stagnant economy³⁹, and in a world without conflict. As it will be seen, the economic evidence shows, instead, a world in which social structures were heavily affected by the way the economic production was organized and put into practice.

Quite the opposite from previous claims, the economy of the Central Valley, the region under study, was not static. Agriculture and handicrafts were activities among peasants, but in

³⁹ A stagnant economy according to the traditional vision. Research carried out in recent years has shown that the Costa Rican economy at the time, mainly after 1750, was diverse and enjoyed surplus.

the new, urban-like towns there was also a population dedicated to handicraft-trade work. The year of 1750 is a turning point (Acuña; Molina 1991: 31) ⁴⁰.

Between the years 1750 and 1821⁴¹, the agrarian and economic structure of the Central Valley was centered on the “chácara”, a type of farm, which was the basic (agrarian-economic) productive unit. The “chácara” was a productive unit consisting of a peasant family that cultivated its own food, raised cattle and performed basic type of handicraft work. Not all families owned a piece of land and they frequently had to do this work in land that belonged to the community (or “tierras realengas”). According to Acuña and Molina (Acuña, Molina: 1991), this type of property coexisted with large and medium-size farms. Another type of property (and more important in terms of community) was the collective ownership of the land. The land was administered at local level by the “cabildos” or town councils. This system facilitated the direct access to the products of the land, which were produced basically within the frame of agriculture of subsistence.⁴² Acuña and Molina write:

“Communal ownership of the land, although it coexisted with private property, allowed the peasant the possibility to regulate the use of the land, the use of the forests and rivers and, in general, of everything that could be related to the exploitation of the collective land without referring to an external power (that is, it was decided inside the community).”(Acuña; Molina 1991: 51).

From the perspective of social interaction this implied that the peasant and his family belonged to communities that were very tight and inclusive groups. The dynamic of the community was based on shared work, habits and obligations that took place on a daily basis. The community also shared the land and all the patrimony and the social relationships were built up on mutual support. (Acuña; Molina 1991: 52).

The agricultural surplus allowed merchants to trade more frequently and on a larger scale. Merchants, therefore, were not just still cultivating land in the traditional way but innovating at

⁴⁰ “...el año 1750 parece marcar así el inicio de un doble proceso de crecimiento económico y demográfico” “...the year 1750 seems to mark the beginning of a doubled process of economic and demographic growing ” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 31).

⁴¹ The Independence from Spain took place in year 1821, at the same time as in the rest of Central America and Mexico. The process of independence took a different turn in Central America and was not as politically agitated as in other parts of the continent. For the present study, the socio-economical factors play a more important role.

⁴² “La propiedad comunal de la tierra, aunque coexistía con su apropiación privada, permitía al campesinado, sin necesidad de recurrir a un poder externo, reglamentar la utilización del suelo, el usufructo de los bosques y de los ríos y, en general, todo cuanto estuviera vinculado con la explotación del territorio colectivo” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 51)

commercial level. This diversity of economic activities and the economic growth that resulted from it allowed the elite merchants to have access to a better technology and better agricultural tools. This difference in the access to better ways of production in turn resulted in a change (increase) in production for those who had access to new tools and technology, versus those who did not have similar access.

Local immigration, mainly from San José, was a phenomenon particular to the Central Valley because in the already populated areas, there was no more land available. This was due to the fact that the land was inherited by each successive generation, and further divided into smaller properties. As Acuña and Molina point out, an important consequence of this migratory movement was that the social space, next to the economic space, also expanded:

“The economical boom experienced in the central valley was not distributed equally. The differentiation was expressed both socially and spatially, being that the merchant was the one who benefited the most. The [economic] surplus provided by the agricultural colonization energized the foreign commerce and increased the growth of the internal market” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 54).⁴³

The new social structure was not driven by a purely economic factor; it was also motivated by the ethnic composition of the colonial society. The ethnic signature of Costa Rican (colonial) society was the *mestizo*⁴⁴. According to Acuña and Molina, towards the end of the colonial era, six out of ten individual were Mestizos, Spaniards were 9% of the population, indigenous were 14% of the population, Afro-Caribbean were 1% and 17% of the population were Pardos, Zambos and Mosquitos⁴⁵.

This diverse ethnic composition mirrored the diverse regional distribution; as it also mirrored the diverse social composition. Geographically, Mestizos and Spaniards were located in

⁴³ “El auge económico vivido en la meseta central no se distribuyó de manera equitativa. La diferenciación se expresó social y espacialmente, siendo el comerciante el que recibió el mayor beneficio. El excedente que deparó la colonización agrícola dinamizó el comercio exterior de Costa Rica e incrementó el crecimiento del mercado interno” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 54).

⁴⁴ See note 23.

⁴⁵ “Pardo” is an ethnicity denomination for the person born from parents of diverse origin (one of African descent, the other one, white, caucasian). “Zambo” is the ethnical denomination for the person born from an African descent and an indigenous person. “Mosquito” is the term to refer to a specific group of indigenous people that lived (and still live in Nicaragua and Honduras) along all the Caribbean Cost of Central America, mostly in Nicaragua, and belong to the “Miskito” group. They speak “misquito” which is a language that belongs to the Misumalpan family, a linguistic family within the group of Chibchan languages, a group of 30 languages spoken in a linguistic area known as “Intermediate Area”, covering from Eastern Honduras to Northern Colombia. (Constenla Umaña, Adolfo. 1991. “Las lenguas del área intermedia: introducción a su estudio areal”. Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica.)

the Central Valley whereas indigenous people lived in the south; African descent population was located in Cartago, and zambos and mulatos in Esparza and Guanacaste (North Pacific). As for the social composition, the process of *mestizaje* had a clear impact in the Costa Rican society because it facilitated upward mobility regarding the social status, mainly financially,

“The *mestizaje* facilitated the social upward mobility. The producer (...) achieved material success by marrying a *mestiza* and mainly by marrying a poor Spaniard, attracted by the resources that the husband would bring with the marriage. The marriage with a woman with a higher ethnicity was very attractive: from 275 African descents and mulatos that lived in Cartago and San Jose between 1777 and 1778, two married Spaniards and one hundred six married mestizas. This type of marriage, not frequent in Matina, Esparza and Guanacaste, was facilitated in the Central Valley, land of young women with poor resources” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 62).⁴⁶

The merchant elite before the year 1750 had different characteristics than the merchant elite after 1750. Those differences can be summarized as follows:

1. The merchant elite between 1570 and 1700 consisted mostly of *encomenderos*, individuals to whom the Spanish administration handed over the control of land and its indigenous people. The *encomenderos* were usually Spaniards; slave drivers, individuals that made business based on slavery, were also part of the merchant elite.
2. The products obtained by the merchants and traded by them were the result of the work of indigenous individuals.
3. The peasant before 1700 had a “criollo” origin; after 1700 the peasant from the Central Valley had a “mestizo” origin.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ “El mestizaje facilitó la movilidad vertical. El productor [...] coronaba el éxito material al desposar a una mestiza y ante todo a una española pobre, atraída por el haber que el esposo iba a aportar a la unión. El enlace con una mujer étnicamente superior era bastante atractivo: de los 275 negros y mulatos casados, que vivían en Cartago y San José entre 1777 y 1778, dos desposaron españolas y 106 mestizas. Este tipo de matrimonio, excepcional en Matina, Esparza y Guanacaste, se facilitaba en la Meseta, tierra de las jóvenes de escaso caudal” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 62)

⁴⁷ The term “criollo” refers to the person born in the New World from Spanish (European) parents whereas “mestizo” refers to the person born from parents that belong to different ethnical backgrounds. In Costa Rica, the first group of conquerors consisted of members who were not of uniform social standing. At the top of the group were the majors, governors and their families (they had close ties with the wealthy families of Nicaragua and Guatemala). The majority of the group though was made up by individuals with a very modest wealth. This differentiation of the beginning had a clear impact on the social constitution of Costa Rican society: “The social differentiation between Spaniards meant different paths for the Spaniards once the “encomienda” agonized: the prosperous “encomendero” dedicated himself to wholesale trade and the one with a more modest wealth ended as a peasant; therefore the peasant of the Central Valley had a criollo origin and not just a mestizo origin. The “mestizaje”, although it was known since the time of the conquest, it acquired relevance just in the 18th century. The

4. Legalization of ownership of land.

After 1700, Spaniards had to restructure the sources of their wealth. Importing and exporting goods became the basic way to accumulate wealth. The turning point in the Costa Rican economy took place between 1700 and 1750.⁴⁸

2.1.2 Late colonial society: from 1750 to 1940.

Given the original composition of the early society in Costa Rica at the beginning of the conquest, the social structure was clearly differentiated into various social groups that were not equal regarding social status. However, given the “criollo” base, Costa Rican colonial society was based upon rights of personal freedom, which guaranteed the right of participation in all socioeconomic spheres, but in reality access was not the same for everybody.

Another factor in the differentiation between the merchants and peasants after 1700 already mentioned was the access to the ownership of land; this process took place between 1744 and 1819, a period for the legalization of private ownership of the land. The increase in economic activity forced the peasant class to obtain money (in cash) to pay for certain goods and services. The possibilities to do so were centered on three activities: (1.) start some type of agricultural commercial activity, (2.) work for wealthy and more powerful landowners, or (3.) increase the production of goods harvested for subsistence with the ultimate goal to sell it and keep the profits. As a result of this differentiated socioeconomic structure, the peasant of “criollo” origin had a different profile than the peasant with “mestizo” origin, as Acuña and Molina point out:

“The differentiation was not expressed through open polarization (one had possessions and the other didn’t), but in the unequal access to movable and immovable properties. The volume and not the quality of what was possessed was the base of the

“criollo” origin, though, was essential: it helped to spread out a unique peasant culture, that was not radically different of that one of the merchant and that included, among other things, a decisive right: freedom, inherited through the Spanish origin of the direct producer”. [“ La diferenciación social entre los españoles supuso una suerte distinta al agonizar la encomienda: el encomendero próspero se consagró al comercio al por mayor, y el que contaba con un modesto haber, acabó convertido en labriego; por tanto, el campesinado de la Meseta tuvo un origen criollo y no meramente mestizo. El mestizaje , aunque fue conocido desde la época de la conquista, solo adquirió importancia en el siglo XVIII. La raíz criolla, sin embargo, fue esencial: facilitó el despliegue de una cultura campesina única, que no difería agudamente de la del comerciante y que incluía, entre otros, un derecho decisivo –la libertad-, legado por la ascendencia española del productor directo (Acuña; Molina 1991: 141)]

⁴⁸ “The extraction of the surplus practiced by the retail merchants did not depend of the encomienda but rather on unequal exchange to which the peasant of the central valley was subjected”. [“La extracción del excedente practicada por los últimos no dependía de la encomienda sino del intercambio desigual a que se encontraba sometido el campesino de la meseta” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 127)]

peasant social structure. Why? The laborer grew with the province: without doubt the socioeconomic structure of the Central Valley favored the unequal distribution between the criollo peasant and the mestizo of the wealth generated by the [economic] peak of 18th century” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 146).⁴⁹

Important social aspects, particular to the social dynamics of the small villages are of particular relevance here. The social life was constrained to the space defined by the geographical boundaries of the small village and was also determined by the common understanding of life within the community (*vida comunitaria*). This included the very important characteristic of the common control they exerted over each other at individual level.

Another important aspect, particular to the family of the small villages, was the double function of the families. They were “families” in the traditional concept, but at the same time, they were also the center of the production of the “chácara”, that is the family was, simultaneously, an economic-productive unit as well as the basic social unit in which the family relationships were also work-related relationships:

“The structure of the family had, at the same time, a double role, particularly regarding the role of the women and children. The woman had a double role at the household and outside of the household. Similarly, the children became an important work force. (..) This double role took place within the context of being a unity, also double, as a family and as an economic-productive unit. The network of family and work relationships happened in the same space. [The child] grew until he could be independent, watched by the interested eye of a parent who discovered that the child could also become a worker”. (Acuña; Molina 1991: 151).⁵⁰

This type of community, closed and tight, in the “peasant universe” (Acuña; Molina 1991), built around the communal property, allowed the members of the community to organize and legislate (within their boundaries) the resources that belong to the group, without having to

⁴⁹ “La diferenciación no se expresaba en abierta polarización –uno poseía y el otro no-, sino en el acceso desigual a bienes similares, muebles e inmuebles. El volumen, no tanto la calidad de lo poseído, era la base esencial de la estratificación campesina. ¿Por qué? El labriego creció con la provincia: sin duda la estructura socioeconómica de la Meseta favoreció la distribución –no equitativa- de la riqueza generada por el auge del siglo XVIII entre el campesinado criollo y el mestizo”. (Acuña; Molina 1991: 146).

⁵⁰ “La estructura de la familia tenía a su vez, también una doble faz, particularmente en lo tocante al rol de la mujer y de los hijos. La mujer tenía doble función dentro de la casa y como trabajadora externa. Del mismo modo, los hijos se convertían en una importante fuerza laboral. [] Este doble rol se daba dentro del contexto de la unidad, también doble, de ser familia y ser una unidad económica productiva. El entramado de las relaciones familiares y laborales se daba en el mismo espacio. [...] [El hijo] crecía hasta que lograra independizarse, vigilado por el ojo interesado y exigente del que lo habría engendrado, que descubría en el hijo al trabajador” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 151).

take into account external decisions. In a period in which the notion of Costa Rica as a nation was being implemented, the administrative decisions and control were decided at community level. The surplus of production of the *chácara* was sold by the peasant as a way to enable him or herself a place within the commercial dynamics, but the mere subsistence of the peasant was not threatened because the peasant could still produce the minimum food that was needed. Therefore, the control of the merchant over the peasant was limited; the merchant could not exert an indiscriminate amount of pressure over the peasant since the survival of the peasant did not depend exclusively from the economical trade and transactions with the merchant.⁵¹

Given the fact that the survival of the peasant did not depend directly from the economic transactions and trade with the merchant class (the existence of the “chácara” was not at risk), the peasant class developed as a group clearly independent, which ruled itself. As it was stated earlier, the control exerted by the merchant was limited, and it was based on aspects that were shared by both groups. Those factors were:

1. A common culture based on Spanish background (marriage, religion)
2. A very specific political structure
3. Efficacy of the law.

Those factors were also reinforced by the shared goal of improvement at economic level, which became a reality with the production of coffee and the exportation of the product to Europe (mainly England).

For the purpose of this study the political structure and economy of this period after 1750 is very important. Given the condition of being an isolated province during colonial times, the administrative organization in the Central Valley was organized around the Cabildo (city council) and it was very important since its structure allowed what Acuña and Molina labeled as **a fragmented sovereignty**, *una soberanía fragmentada*. It was an important institution in which conflicts were wisely resolved and used for all the members in the community. At the same time, the relationships, conflicts and solutions within the community took also place in other aspects of

⁵¹ [The extraction of the surplus, limited by the strength of the peasant and the criollo depended of the volume of the crops that the chacara would willingly sell] “La extracción del excedente, limitada por la fortaleza de uno y otro, dependía del volumen de la cosecha que la chacara comercializara de manera voluntaria” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 161)

the community's life such as schools and churches (not official, governmental institutions). The relationship between merchant and peasant was not completely antagonistic; they did not see each other as polarized as in other colonial societies in Latin America. As a matter of fact, the peasant looked for support on the merchant, and vice versa, under the understanding that in the exchange there were implicitly some conditions. This type of interaction came about as a "vertical solidarity". Both parts agreed to offer support to the other, but, at the same time, were very conscious that such support had specific conditions. This type of relationship became a type of customer/provider relationship (*clientelismo*), thus unequal.⁵² These types of bounds existed at the local level, between the peasant and the agricultural business people. The solidarity network, both vertical and horizontal, extended through family and neighbors. But, differently than the peasant, the merchant had a specific different space beyond the community sphere.

The legal resolution of the conflicts was an instance in which the solidarity and power structures were intertwined in a very complex network. Although there were no attorneys or lawyers, the institutional mechanisms allowed the peasant to fight for his/her rights through the mediation of some literate and respected (trusted) neighbor of the community (often, the priest) to represent him/her. The legal system was established in such a way that legitimized the supremacy of the merchant but at the same time it guaranteed the right of the peasant to question it, and vice versa⁵³.

A very important factor in the economy of Costa Rica during 19th century was an important wave of immigrants that presented a very specific profile. Immigrants came from Europe, from Spain and Germany, and immigrants from other countries in Central America (Nicaragua and Panama). The Central American immigration was caused by civil wars happening in the rest of the area but not in Costa Rica. Those immigrants had a strong professional background while the European immigrants had an extensive business-related experience related to the coffee industry.

Two phenomena contributed to the disappearance of the agriculture of subsistence. One was the creation of companies, businesses that involved almost all the commercial activities in

⁵². "...because of the asymmetrical relationship, the benefit was mutual but inevitably unequal... "[a causa de la asimetría del lazo, el beneficio era mutuo aunque desigual inevitablemente]" (Acuña; Molina 1991: 173)

⁵³ "La propiedad y la libertad del mayorista no podían ser defendidas sin que lo fueran, a la vez, las del campesino". (Acuña; Molina 1991: 176). [The property and freedom of the merchant could not be defended, unless the property and freedom of the peasant could be also defended]

the Central Valley, and the urban growth that the small cities experimented. The other factor was large scale commercial agricultural such as tobacco and coffee, (mainly the production of coffee) that resulted in an economy that underwent a process of “monetarization”. Previously, the economy was based on trade and exchange, but after all the economic and urban changes, the working population needed cash. Urban growth and large scale commercial agriculture, contributed to the disappearance of the subsistence agricultural system. The coffee industry required many workers and a significant amount of peasants stopped working on their own land and obtained employment for themselves in the commercial coffee plantations.

The coffee industry had a major impact in the formation of the solidarity network created through the 18th century. The coffee producer found in the Costa Rican lower class the work force needed in the industry. Those individuals that did not want to be employed as hired work force opted for immigration. They immigrated toward the west even more, looking for land that they could call their own, and incorporated themselves in the coffee industry. In this way, the production of coffee promoted an improvement on their social standing. The immigration factor, then, contributed to the “transplantation” of habits, culture and traditions that they had in the places of origin. People immigrated bringing all the traditions, cultures, and, surely, language. The beginning of the coffee industry in Costa Rica, therefore, marked the transition from an economy of subsistence towards an economy based on agrarian capitalism. Part of this process that was promoted by the immigration and the Bourbonic Reform was the privatization of the land. This aspect, brought to Costa Rican society as a result of the economic development, contributed decisively to break the social network built during 18th century. This process of privatization of the land was often questioned by the peasants.

All this economic process is parallel to another process, political in nature, regarding the administration of the country. Previously the administration was the responsibility of the Cabildo, but when the production of coffee started, Costa Rica was looking forward to constituting itself as a political state and a nation. Together, this economic process and the ideological process that took place when establishing the basis of the nation, gave rise to the notion of a “Costa Rican identity”. As a result of all these interacting forces, Costa Rica developed a system of justice/legal system based on three types of law: formal law (the one given by the government), common law (not formalized but widely accepted practices), and the application of the community law (highly localized, it was based on the common agreement

between the members of the community in regard to the administration of local resources and mediation of local conflicts). Between 1821 and 1850, according to Acuña and Molina, two legal systems existed in Costa Rica simultaneously. One system favored the application of the community law, defended the communal ownership of the land, and the right of each individual to represent him or herself in court. The other system, the formal law (in a moment in which the country was making the transition towards agrarian capitalism), favored the elite, favored the application of the formal law, the privatization of the land and discarded the self representation. (Acuña; Molina 1991: 327).

During this period of the 19th century, the two legal systems coexisted, each mostly independent of the other, each meeting the needs of specific groups. With the disappearance of the community law and factors related to it, the peasant class was left with no alternative but to use the formal system. Thus, the peasantry had more contact with the elites, at least at the level of the legal system. Additionally, the growth of the cities located in the Central Valley created more distance between the rural and the urban space. The differentiation was not clearly defined however. In terms of community demographics, the elite had to share the urban space with all type of workers, therefore the lower class had more participation at the political level than they did at the economic structure (Acuña and Molina 1991: 332).

A very important factor in the constitution of the Costa Rican society was the respect for institutions. The institutions brought social forces into balance, and conflicts were usually channeled through the legal system and its institution⁵⁴. As it has been explained, both the elite and the peasant classes were faced with social interactions in which the merchant elite could not impose itself on the peasant class. The peasant class, on the other hand, having access to the legal system to protect its interests, could manage to maintain its rights at the legal level.

It is argued here that the address system came to reflect this dual status of interaction in Costa Rican daily life, through the evolution of the pronoun *usted* in which not just verticality in the relationship is expressed, but also expressing horizontality in the relationship⁵⁵. In a context in which the unequal distribution of power was the pattern, language was the only “tool”

⁵⁴ “The social structure built through 18th century, enhanced the negotiation of conflicts, the integration of the lower class and the legal system, and shaped the institutions of the country with a democratic character” “La estructura social, que se forjó en el siglo XVIII, al potenciar la negociación del conflicto, la integración de la plebe y el imperio del derecho, moldeó la institucionalidad del país con un carácter democrático” (Acuña; Molina 1991: 348).

⁵⁵ It can also be seen as an approach/withdrawal structure.

available to people of limited power or influence to navigate such structures of power. It is proposed that the pronoun *usted* acted as a “wild card” or more neutral expression to cover all types of interactions and still “keep face”.

By expanding the pragmatics of the pronoun *usted* and the specialization of the contexts in which *usted* could be used, all these functions converged into in one pronoun, all possible interactions and face-related situations are therefore covered. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that in the productive unit of the family, both types of interaction were involved: the one related to work and the one related to family relationships, using the pronoun *usted*, again, as an expression or “wild card” that will covered all possible interactions in this context also.

In the course of explaining the process of the emergence of *usted*², it is now clear how the economic dynamic could have a large impact on the society and how language could mirror those social changes. With the loss of the consuetudinary legal system, those that did not belong to the elite had to find an alternative way to navigate the structures of power imposed to them. Given the fact that the access to the legal system, at least at institutional level, still existed, the best way to navigate the system and not be excluded was reflected in language through the use of a form that will bring the status within the dyad of interaction on one hand and, on the other hand, the same form allowed, among the working class members, to interact with each other while handling family and work relationships simultaneously. It is also important to remember that the interactions of both groups in Costa Rican colonial society were built during 18th century, on the base of mutual dependency and unequal access to the same structure and that the elite could not impose its will on the working class. The working class did have ways to fight back against unequal situations, and those relationships were created within a shared culture, shared values, aspects that built a solidarity network among its members, despite the unequal access to land, education and economic (but not social) possibilities.

2.2 A necessary (conceptual) pause

Before the theoretical perspectives included in this study are presented, it is necessary to introduce some conceptual notions present in the theoretical frameworks employed on this dissertation. Those concepts are *deference*, *deferential/non deferential systems*, *the notions of withdrawal/approach* and the notion of *face*.

2.2.1 Deference

The concept of deference is widely used in the literature related to address form systems, mainly in what have been denominated as T/V systems, frequently found in European languages. The use of this term, therefore, is ample in reference to European languages. It is used in relationship with Portuguese, French, Spanish and German (Brown and Gilman: 1960), all languages in which the personal pronouns portray these differences. It is said, for example, that French *Vous* is a deferential form in comparison with French *Tu*, or German *Sie* is deferential in contrast with German *Du*, which is non-deferential. In the case of Spanish, *Usted* is the deferential form versus *Tú* which is the non deferential form (in European Spanish). Some clues about how to define “deference” are found in Brown and Gilman (1960), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and in Penny (2000). It is very important to point out that the notion of “deference” is so embedded within the theoretical frameworks, that when working with address forms it is almost impossible not to use it. It is also part of the lay knowledge of most people when talking about address forms systems.

There is an agreement that the first (indirect) references to the term *deference* (and the concurrent term as the adjective forms *deferential use* in “deferential systems”) can be found in Brown and Gilman (1960). It is important to emphasize that, to start with, they use the term “reverential” in relation to the V form. In their work they define *deference* by establishing the context in which *deference* can take place. The address forms employed with *deference* are used in contexts of power, that is, in a context in which one of two persons participating in a communicative exchange, one has more power than the other. This determines, therefore, that the relationship established means that a person with more power address the other person one way, and the person with less power address the person with more power in a different way (not the same as the person with power). This makes this relationship a non reciprocal relationship in which one of the members of the communicating pair holds more power than his or her interlocutor. Historically, according to Brown and Gilman the introduction of this notion of *deference* into European languages came into being when:

“The V of reverence entered European speech as a form of address to the principal power in the state and eventually generalized to the powers within that microform of the state – the nuclear family” (Brown and Gilman: 255-256)

How the V pronoun acquired the reverential meaning from Latin to European languages is described by Brown and Gilman through the path followed by the pronoun *vos* in Latin in which V was used to address a plural *you*. Then, it was used to address the Roman Emperor (as they were two Emperors addressed as one person). In medieval times, how the dynamic of the languages between members of the upper class (that is the one with more power) introduced the deference in the system could be described as:

“The difference in class practice derives from the fact that the reverential V was always introduced into a society at the top (...). The practice slowly disseminated downward in a society. In this way the use of V in the singular incidentally came to connote a speaker of high status” (Brown and Gilman: 256-257)

After this period in which V was used among equals, gradually, the T address form differentiated from the V form, establishing then the distinction of T as the form for intimacy and V the form for formality. Hence, the understandings of the V form as a reverential [deferential] form. This distinction, in terms of the context of use, is then established as intimacy for T and as formal for V (or deferential: the terms are interchanged very freely).

This distinction of the T form from the V form also establishes that V, within this context of power, should be read in two different ways. When power is implied, V appears in one way when addressing the interlocutor, in non reciprocal relationships and, also, V can emerge as an address form to address differences when power is not implied (but other factors are, age for example). Other factors or contexts that may contribute to the use of V and, in consequence, to read V as a deferential form are, for instance, the decrease in the solidarity among interlocutors. “Like-mindedness” is another context in which V is employed: the less like-mindedness there is, the more chances to use V. (Brown and Gilman: 257-258). Also other factors play a role such as political membership, family, religion, profession, gender and birthplace.

In the section of their work related to solidarity semantics, Brown and Gilman specify that the use of the V form is linked with differences between persons that are not necessarily due to differences on power, although it can be related with power too. By solidarity semantic they

understand the possibility to establish a difference in how two people with same power or equals address each other:

“Solidarity comes into the European pronouns as a means of differentiating address among power equals. It introduces a second dimension into the semantic system on the level of power equivalents. So long as solidarity was confined to this level, the two-dimensional system was in equilibrium (...), and it seems to have remained there for a considerable time in all our languages. It is from the long reign of the two-dimensional semantic that T derives its common definition as the pronoun of either condescension or intimacy and V its definition as the pronoun of reverence or formality” (Brown and Gilman: 258).

As for specific social contexts in which the use of V as a deferential form appeared, Brown and Gilman specify that this use was closely related with feudal and manorial systems, that is, societies with static social structures.

With historical changes that took place, mainly in European societies, these societies underwent social changes in which concentrated power was contested and more egalitarian societies were promoted. The non-reciprocal power structure typical of feudal societies was challenged by a more egalitarian ideology. This new ideology questioned the non reciprocal power relationship and favored solidarity:

“It is our suggestion that the larger social changes created distaste for the face-to-face expression of deferential power” (Brown and Gilman: 269).

The status quo of a group with more power was questioned. Instead of thinking of the other (Hearer) as someone with more power to who reverence was owed, the Speaker, having gained a more equal power status, would have started to think of the other as someone who could be an outsider as opposed to someone intimate. And that is how the V address forms in a T/V system in general came to use V for an outsider (or less like-mindedness, or whatever other factor could define an outsider: political affiliation, religion, age, gender, etc) and T for intimate. (Brown and Gilman: 277).

Brown and Levinson (1978,1987) refer to the notion of deference, both from a linguistic perspective as well as for the social factors related in language that give way to the expression of

deference in languages. Deference is expressed linguistically through the use of specific and motivated forms. When defining how deference is realized in language, Brown and Levinson specify that there are two sides in the realization of deference (Brown and Levinson: 178):

1. Speaker humbles and abases himself.
2. Speaker raises the status of Hearer (pays him positive face of a particular kind, namely that which satisfies Hearer's wants to be treated as a superior)

For Brown and Levinson, this double sided aspect of deference is reflected by the fact that there are many languages that have both deference and humiliating forms. Both aspects, raising the hearer or the humbling of self, allow the speaker to give deference to the hearer. As for how deference is encoded in languages, Brown and Levinson refer to forms of different nature:

- Referent terms
- Honorifics
- Generalized forms of address (for strangers).

For example, English terms such as Sir, Madam, Lady because:

“...their usage presupposes certain social attributes of their referents, and that they can be viewed as properly applied only to some specific human ‘denotata’. In other words, they have been considered on the whole to be automatic reflexes or signals of predetermined social standing (...)” (Brown and Levinson: 182)

They also add that many languages encode the social standing within the linguistic structure (which also shows how interspersed social factors and language can be). This encoding tends to be sensitive to any kind of act that can threaten the face of the individual to whom the address form is given⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ Other ways to show deference could be expressing that the wants of the hearer are more important than the wants of the speaker; another way to indicate deference may imply behaving in ways that show to dominant members that the speakers (members of low strata of society) behave as fools, or using language of buffoonery. Other processes could be the use of “one” for “you” or “I” or the pluralization of “you” when used to refer to a single addressee.

In summary, deference seems to be defined by the context in which the communicative exchange takes place. This context is defined by two factors: 1. the presence of power or 2. The presence of other factors, such as age and like-mindedness. The first factor allows a use of V as a form to convey that the two individuals interacting participate in a relationship that is not reciprocal because one member of the interaction has more power (over) the other. The second factor allows a use of V to convey social distance not necessarily due to power but to other factors such as age, like-mindedness, political affiliation, among others. Another aspect of how to convey, pragmatically, deference is defined by Brown and Levinson as the speaker humbling himself or as the speaker raising the hearer. The interaction between social factors and language is so strong that this use is already encoded in languages, specifically, languages with a T/V system.

In regard to the definition of deference (or deferential) in the literature that deals with Spanish, Ralph Penny (2000) uses the term to refer to the address forms used with the Emperor. According to Penny, the duality of deferential/not deferential was established in Spanish in the period corresponding to what he calls Later Latin; previous Latin did not employ this difference. In this historical context, Penny does not specify clearly what he means by “deferential” or “non-deferential”. He does use the term “status” to explain what factor was determinant when the speaker addressed the hearer.

2.2.2 Deferential/Non Deferential Systems

Helmbrecht, on his study of politeness distinctions in pronouns (2005) defines clearly “deferential” and “non deferential systems” based on data from many languages around the world. He classifies T/V systems common in European languages as systems with binary politeness distinctions. His article provides an insight on how politeness distinctions are reflected in language across the board and it demonstrates that politeness distinctions are not an uncommon aspect of languages. According to Helmbrecht three fourths of the languages of the world do not have politeness distinctions in personal pronouns. Of the remaining quarter that does have politeness distinctions in second person pronouns, two thirds do have politeness

distinctions. This binary politeness distinction is spread throughout the world but it is particularly high in Europe and in adjacent areas (Helmbrecht: 187).

In synthesis, deferential systems differ from non-deferential systems based on the presence of an address form that may convey the content of deference and establish a non-symmetrical relationship between the Speaker (S) and the Hearer (H), based on factors such as power, higher status, social distance, in- or out-group. Such differences are conveyed through the presence of an address form that is polite vs. another form that it is not polite because it is not based in power but in other factors that show less social distance between S and H. Also, it establishes the paradigmatic opposition that exists, particularly in European languages, between one intimate pronoun of address and another one expressing respectful address forms. Polite pronouns are then used when addressing others when there is a difference in social rank and prestige between the persons participant in a communicative exchange

The notion of deference establishes, at the very core of its definition, the idea of social distance or unequal relationship because of the presence of power. Therefore, it is a useful term to explain or analyze a form that historically has displayed this use, but, not in the case of Costa Rica, which has evolved to a form with the value of intimacy. This is why it has been decided not to use the term deference or the differentiation established between deferential/non deferential systems in this study.

2.2.3 Face

The concept of face, as presented by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, constitutes a very important concept that should be presented first in discussion and analysis in the study. This study does not contribute to the notion of face, but it is used as a framework in the analysis of the semantic/pragmatic change of the pronoun *usted*.

According to Brown and Levinson, at the very core in any human interaction exists the construction of a message that is conveyed or received and the concept of face. In those interactions, many types of actions or contents can be communicated, varying from requests to offers or complaints. Independent of the content is the notion of face. Speaker (S) and hearer (H) are competent individuals in an interaction. Each has “face”, i.e. “the public self image that every

member wants to claim for himself”, which consists of two related aspects: negative and positive face. Negative face is the basic claim for personal independence, territories, personal preserves, right to non-distraction – i.e. freedom of actions and freedom from imposition. Positive face is the positive consistent self-image (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of), claimed by interactants” (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 61). The concept of face is the basis of all types of social relationships.

For Brown and Levinson, a fluent speaker of any natural language would have at least two characteristics: rationality and face. By rationality, Brown and Levinson refer to “...the application of a specific mode of reasoning [...] which guarantees inferences from ends or goals to means that will satisfy those ends” (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987: 64). By face, as it was mentioned before, it is understood “...the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself”⁵⁷ (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 61). One important aspect of Brown and Levinson’s approach is that in any given interaction, the participants, e.g. speakers, know what they are expected to do in specific interactions, that is, individuals follow specific conventions in order to reach X or Y objectives in a Z interaction. Brown and Levinson sustain that despite the different cultural outcomes of such conventions, it is common to all natural languages and their speakers. The common notion of conventions that shape interactions and the fact that individuals display rationality and face in such interactions is present in all speakers.

An interactant possesses certain rational capacities, that is, the capacity to reason and use specific means (strategies) to reach the goal of the interaction. An important aspect of face is that it is an emotional investment; it can be lost, maintained or enhanced and should be attended to at all times in the interaction. Everyone’s face depends on the other participant’s face; therefore, participants usually are cooperative on maintaining each other’s face. Whereas the ways to carry out this task can have particular cultural expressions, Brown and Levinson assume that the existence of a public image or face and the social need that each individual has to orient him or herself in social interactions, are of universal character.

The double-sided nature of the notion of face also implies that in every single exchange both S and H have to pay attention to what they are doing in terms of threatening or not threatening the good standing of any of those two components of face. Those acts that can

⁵⁷ Face consist of two different but related factors: negative face and positive face (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 61) See following note for a definition.

decrease the positive or the negative face of both S and H are known as “face threatening acts” (FTA for short). The way the FTAs can happen is very complex and explained in detail in the section 2.4. of politeness theoretical framework

2.2.4 Approach/Withdrawal

The concepts of withdrawal and approach provide an alternative frame to analyze and understand the address form system in Costa Rican Spanish.

The notions of withdrawal and approach provide a more generalized context that explains that individuals or humans tend to come closer (approach) or to put more distance (withdraw) when they interact with other humans or individuals. Also relevant for the current analysis besides the notions of approach/withdrawal is the notion of intentionality related to it.

Elaborating on the concept of face (previously defined), Terkourafi (2007a) revisits the concept of face and traces the historical constitution and elaboration of such. Examining the concept based on cognitive and human emotion literature, she proposes a more universal notion of face, based on traits that are common to human nature. This universal notion of face is proposed to exist independent from cultural and societal specificities. With this additional dimension of the notion of face, a new definition is established regarding face. Face 1 is the concept of face in a specific cultural context and Face 2 is a universal definition, existing outside of any societal or cultural context.

The universal concept of Face or Face 2 is based on two main components: one component is the biological grounding, which supposes the dimension of approach/withdrawal on the part of the individuals, and the notion of intentionality, which refers to acts performed by individuals that are based on decision making. It is related to mental states and what they (and the individuals) are about. Intentionality is what makes the concept of face uniquely human.

Based on the work of Davidson on the behavior of organisms, Terkourafi remarks that human behavior is characterized by approach or withdrawal. Quoting Davidson, Terkourafi emphasizes that: “To approach or withdraw is the fundamental adaptative decision in situations or conditions that have recurred during our evolutionary past” (Terkourafi 2007a). This

approach/withdrawal trait is not only common to all human emotions but also phylogenetically primary, universal and preconscious:

“It seems to me that such a dimension provides a natural basis for a universalizing notion of face, from which the latter can inherit two important features: its dualism between positive (approach) and negative (withdrawal) aspects, and its universality” (Terkourafi 2007a : 323)

Intentionality is what makes face a uniquely human trait. It refers to actions that reflect the mental property of doing something. Acts such as beliefs, intentions, love and judgments all are displays of intentionality. Those acts are intended for someone else, that is, for the *Other* and as Terkourafi points out: “Face is similarly intentional inasmuch as it presupposes an Other. Awareness of the Other, in turn, presupposes a notion of Self” (Terkourafi 2007a: 323).

The presence of another to whom the self relates to and speaks to, justifies the decision of the speaker to approach the other or to withdraw from the other. Each individual has the capacity to do both in conjunction with the intentionality that justifies the decision of the individual to approach or withdraw. If, through intentionality, judgment is expressed, that will cause the individual to withdraw for her or his interlocutor. If through intentionality love is displayed, then the individual will opt for coming closer and express his or her intentions in a more intimate way. This, in turn, will make the individual to approach his or her interlocutor. This notion provides the flexibility needed to explain the elasticity that the pronoun *usted* is capable to portray when used both as a pronoun that can display what has been understood as deference or formality (withdrawal, putting some social distance), and intimacy

Without an *Other* there is no need to keep face, and, therefore, no need to approach or withdraw, since there is no person to whom one may direct any intentions or acts. But the existence of the other also implies the existence of the self, and as long as the self is related to an “other”, the self can have more than one face at the same time (Spencer-Oatey 2007 also points out this phenomenon).

A notion of face that presupposes the existence of an “other” and a self means that the notion of Face2 is conceived as a dichotomy, or as Terkourafi labels it, as a dyad. But this dyad also has the component of intentionality, which means that both participants work together on

directing their actions intentionally, together (they cannot do it in isolation). That is equivalent to say that the notion of face in its universalizing concept is based mainly on intentionality, because it is because of the intentionality that face concerns arise and are fulfilled.

These notions of approach/withdrawal and the intentionality component are more adequate to analyze the way the pronoun *usted* is being used in the communicative. These terms are used in the current study to analyze the pronouns and to offer a perspective that it is more comprehensive of the communicative dynamic and provides a better account about how and why the pronoun *usted* evolved in its meaning.

2.3 Theoretical perspectives for this study

Dialectology and sociolinguistics help in analyzing variation in use from a historical as well as from dialectal and sociolinguistic perspectives. In the process, differences within Costa Rica, reflected in the use of the address form system, can be accounted for. In a pilot study carried out in Costa Rica in the Summer of 2005,⁵⁸ a preliminary dialectal distribution of these address forms emerged. Based on results of the questionnaire survey, it was possible to determine the following dialectal distribution within Costa Rica, as found in Table 2.1.

	Approach	Withdrawal
Northwest	<i>Vos</i>	Usted
Atlantic Coast	<i>Tú, vos</i>	Usted
Central Valley	<i>Tú, vos, usted</i>	Usted
South	<i>Tú</i> [<i>vos</i> is regarded as pejorative]	Usted

Table 2.2 Dialectal distribution of address forms in Modern Costa Rican Spanish.

In table 2.2, it is possible to appreciate the fact that in the Central Valley area there is covariation between the pronouns, including the use and meaning of two *usted* pronouns. The

⁵⁸ These data were collected in Costa Rica in Summer 2005 thanks to the Tinker Field Research in Latin America and Iberia, given by the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and to the Beckman Institute Grant for Cognitive Sciences and Artificial Intelligence, given by the Beckman Institute for Advanced Science and Technology of the same institution. Recognition in collecting the data is given to the University of Costa Rica, National University of Costa Rica and Technological Institute of Cartago, Costa Rica.

modern covariation in Costa Rican Spanish motivated the present doctoral study. The goal is to uncover the historical and linguistic pathways of 2nd person address forms in this dialect of Spanish. The study looks back into the history of the language of the region to find out the causes, external and internal, that could have triggered the evolution of these forms.

The findings of the pilot study support the dialectal distribution already mentioned in the literature. However, none of these studies offer an explanation of the distribution, variation, and change in the use of the pronouns. It has been described (but not explained, however) as a mixed use that reflects **a chaos or disorder** in the status of the 2nd person address forms in the modern Costa Rican Spanish pronominal system (Quesada 2005).

The objective of this dissertation is to explore the internal and external factors which help explain the evolution of these pronouns in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish.

The historical perspective and the semantic/pragmatic change approach revolve around the analysis of the *usted* form. Speakers of the Central Valley dialect in Costa Rica use the pronoun *usted* for two functions, one formal and the other informal. Or, as it has been restated, to approach to or to withdraw from the Hearer (H). That is, the meaning of *usted* has broadened from originally having just one meaning, withdrawal, to include both the withdrawal and approach functions. Through semantic change theory (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2005), it will be analyzed how *usted* has generalized and broadened its function. The objective will be to find the trajectory of this semantic change and offer a new approach, based on politeness theory, regarding the grammaticalization of the *usted* pronoun.

Politeness theory is used in this dissertation to help explain the covariation and semantic evolution of the pronouns in Costa Rican Spanish, as politeness strategies. This covariation and change is analyzed from the perspective of viewing politeness strategy as a mechanism to address topics or situations in which the face of the speaker/hearer has to be taken into account. In connection with semantic change, politeness theory contributes in demonstrating that the semantic change of the *usted* pronoun is related to aspects of *face* of the speaker/hearer and to possible Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). Face, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987: 61) is the public self-image that every individual has from him/herself and it is a two-fold concept: “a. negative face, which is “the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction, i.e. freedom from action and freedom from imposition; and b. positive face: the positive consistent self –image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image

be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants claimed by the interactants” (1978, 1987: 61). Face threatening acts (FTAs) are (speech) acts that threaten this public self image (or face) of a member in a given interaction.

The present dissertation offers the first comprehensive explanation in Hispanic linguistics literature regarding the semantic change of *usted*. The objective will be to find the factors that triggered the change from having one form with only one meaning (to withdraw from the H), to have the same form expressing withdrawal and approach offering socio-historical evidence from Costa Rican Spanish.

The historical development of the 2nd person address form system cannot be explained in its entirety without using these three perspectives. The semantic change of *usted* cannot be explained without taking into consideration the variation in time and space. The covariation and change cannot be explained without observing politeness and the courtesy strategies developed or presented by speakers. Our mixed approach explains linguistic and sociolinguistic factors that have played a role in the evolution of the Costa Rican second person pronoun system, and that could not be explained from the perspective of semantic change alone. As it will be demonstrated in the analysis chapter, it is a complex phenomenon that requires a complex explanation.

2.3.1 Language variation and change

2.3.1.1 Variation

A relevant aspect for this study is the consideration of variation within the language, and more specifically, within the level of discourse. In regard to variation in language, variation can be seen in language through the alternate use of specific features, that is, linguistic variables. A linguistic variable is constituted by practically any internal aspect of the language: phonemes, sounds, morphemes, syntactic structures. The linguistic variables can vary according to specific parameters. From a synchronic perspective, those parameters are geographical, that is, these

linguistic features vary across a geographical area or territory. Another parameter is social variation, which includes the different use of these linguistic features according to factors such as age, gender, race, class background, education, occupation and income (Penny: 2000). From a historical or diachronical perspective, the linguistic variables can also vary over a period of time (Penny: 2000), showing levels or rate of change within the language.

When these linguistic features covariate, geographically, socially or over time, variation in language takes place. Variation in language leads the researchers to look for patterns of use within the variation; those patterns of use are representative of sociolinguistic variation (Escobar, 2006). There are (should be) specific sociolinguistic variables that can help the researcher to establish those patterns of use.

Romaine (1982) criticizes the Labovian perspective of language variation as a solid set of rules that are used by all the speakers inside a speech community, with the same rules or constraints in use for all speakers. For her, it is possible, inside a speech community, to have the same linguistic features but, also, have sets of different rules that are applied. That is, that the speech community shares specific features of the language but not necessarily shares the rules that apply to those features (Romaine: |1983). That is, inside the same speech community, some speakers used X set of linguistic features in one way and other speakers use that set of linguistic features in a different way⁵⁹.

Variation in language then, can also refer, as Romaine proposes, to

“...the existence of different norms of speaking and prestige attached to them as coexistent within the same speech community...”(Romaine, 1982: 22).

Variation in discourse is relevant to this study. Variation in discourse is not a perspective with broad discussion in the theoretical literature. The main focus for the study of variation at discourse level has been in regard of discourse markers. Very little (Millán, 2011) or none has been done in the study of variation at discourse level taking into account linguistic factors such as pronouns.

⁵⁹ According to Romaine, the Labovian understanding of speech community in which the community exhibits speakers using X variable in the same way poses a problem. The use of X variable in the same way also implies that the constraints in the use of that variable are also shared and that will not allow future changes in the language (Romaine, 1982).

Two studies have tackled the theoretical definition of what is a variable at discourse level and also suggest strategies for analysis at discourse level employing the notion of a variable (Dines (1980) and Pichler (2010)). Dines (1980) proposes that discourse variables are established on the basis of a common (discourse) function. The variables should also be semantically equivalent in order to function as variables of the same linguistic factor or, as stated by Dines, “What is essential to the notion of a variable is that the variants are in some way the same” (Dines: 15, 1980). They have the same function, but they should as well show specific distributions (that is, they should be in complementary distribution). The common discourse function should also be determined by specific constraints, both linguistic and extra linguistic. Associated with the variables is the grade of saliency that they display inside the speech community in which they are used. In summary, for Dines the three features that a variable should have at discourse level are salience, differential distribution and underlying similarity.

Pichler (2010) also analyzes the notion of a variable at the discourse level, reviews the notion proposed by Dines, and modifies it. From one part, Pichler questions the notion of function as a criteria to establish a variable at discourse level based on the fact that discourse pragmatic features (as the ones she discuss) are polysemic. Based on that, function cannot possibly be a stable denominator, therefore, having a common discourse function is not a sufficient criteria:

“...in the process of grammaticalization, discourse-pragmatic features over time develop new pragmatic meanings in addition to, or instead of, their putative original meanings”.
(Pichler: 20)

Instead of a notion of a variable at discourse level based on common function, Pichler proposes that this concept should be based instead on structural equivalence. This notion of structural equivalence allows gathering the complexity of all the possible variations a specific linguistic feature may have. By structural equivalence it is understood to mean an underlying structural similarity.

Advantages of this modification on the notion of variability is that it is possible to have all the possible meanings a form can develop through the process of grammaticalization (that is, diachronically). A second advantage is that a notion of a variable based on structural equivalence

can, at the same time, gather all the possible semantic layering a linguistic feature can have from a synchronic point of view.

2.3.1.2 Variation and change

Variation and change are linguistic phenomena that are interrelated, when variation happens over a period of time it leads to change in the language.

In historical linguistics, linguistic change has traditionally been seen as a process in which a particular form has been selected from among other forms available in the system, and has propagated its use in the speech community. This approach to language change holds that in a speech community usually two or more variants of the same linguistic category are competing for a certain period of time and then one of the variants becomes more successful or is favored. The process of change is not black and white. Some variants or forms are added, and some will stay or will disappear over time. Another important aspect to consider in diachronic variation is that diachronic variation is not independent of geographical and social variation. Linguistics and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change (Weinreich et al. 1968).

The literature suggests that there is also a correlation between the geographical area and the speed of change. Penny mentions that Catalan spoken in the Pyrenees is more conservative than the variety spoken in the Valencian region, which is more innovative. Varieties that are more isolated geographically tend to be more conservative, whereas areas that are closer to urban centers have a tendency to innovate (cf. Trudgill 2003). As a peripheral region in the Spanish Viceroyalty of New Spain (16th-19th centuries), the region that Costa Rica occupies presently belonged to regions that had less contact with the metropolis, and hence maintained linguistic features which disappeared in other varieties of Spanish, as is the case of *vos* (cf. Granda 1995).

The speed of linguistic change varies in each speech community. Consequently, the historical division used in this dissertation differentiates periods or eras of the evolution of Spanish in Costa Rica. Following sociohistorical events of the region, as it was described earlier (cf. Weinreich et al. 1968) it is pointed out that change takes place via social interaction, mainly

when interacting face to face. That is, change is spread through individuals as they belong to social groups.⁶⁰

As mentioned earlier, innovations spread from one individual to another through the accommodation processes which occur in face-to-face interactions. How some innovations are spread and how other linguistic phenomena are impeded has been better understood under the theory of social network as it has been developed by Milroy and Milroy (1985). Social network is defined by the Milroys as the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, where social network analysis examines the differing structures and properties of these relationships. The social network is a concept that captures the dynamics that underlie speakers' interactional behaviors. Since ties in a given community can change for any reason, then changes in the operation of the social network can illuminate the phenomenon of linguistic change. Therefore social network and its dynamics are considered in this dissertation.

Within this concept of social network, how closely individuals are related to each other, that is how strong or weak is the network in which they are embedded, plays an important role in regard to language change. A person with strong ties is an individual that has resided in a community for a long time and has multiple, long and well established relationships with the members of that community. It is usually a non mobile speaker (does not migrate) and has multiple relationships. An example will be a person that holds relationships within his workplace, is the member of a church, a political party, and has relationships with neighbors. A person with weak ties within a community is an individual that is a mobile speaker (migrates). He has geographical mobility, has changed employment multiple times, has loose-knit personal ties (acquaintances instead of friends) and is usually an individual with a low density rather than a high density social network (Cf. Milroy and Milroy 1985 and Milroy, L.2002, 2004). Communities that exhibit strong ties are more resistant to language change; they tend to be more conservative in their uses. Conversely, communities that exhibit weak ties are more prone to accept new forms and change, both in values and in language. That means that linguistic changes will start with individuals that exhibit weak ties. Usually, close knit networks are constructed during adolescence, but these types of networks also happen in low-status communities (both rural and urban) in the absence of social and geographical mobility and are important in fostering

⁶⁰ In the 21st century other modes for language spread have been posited (e.g. due to technology), but will not be discussed here.

the solidarity ethos associated with the long-term survival of socially disfavored languages and dialects. It is also important to note that a community characterized by mobility will facilitate change (Milroy: 563).

An additional important aspect of Milroy's contribution to the study of language variation and change is the relationship she established between social network, social class and mobility. A social network that reflects weak ties can help to explain the dynamics of dialect leveling, that is, the eradication of socially or locally marked variants in condition of social or geographical mobility and resultant dialect contact (Milroy 2002:566). Leveling can be seen as a linguistic reflex of disruption, when it happens, a characteristic of close-knit networks. Such disruption can arise from internal and transitional migration, war, industrialization, and urbanization. These dynamics have often operated in colonial contexts. This is a concept relevant for the present study, given the conditions under which the Costa Rican society was shaped throughout colonial times (see historical background at the beginning of this chapter). Among the disruptions that played a key role within the colonial period in Costa Rica it is possible to mention:

1. The progressive internal migration towards the west of the Central Valley (area of study) from 17th century on, together with the ongoing migration until the 19th century in search of new land (towards the "migration border");
2. The urbanization process that took place in the four more important settlements in the Central Valley throughout 18th century;
3. The transition from an economic system of agricultural subsistence to a form of agrarian capitalism with the rise of the production of coffee during the 19th century.

Also, although not researched here, the war of 1856 against the foreign invasion by William Walker and, towards the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the legalization of prostitution and the creation of systems to control the population (through the creation of the hygiene police) and the impact this control have on the social network of Costa Rican society (Hernández Marín, 2008).

The present study focuses on the type of change that the second person pronouns present over a certain period of time. This study revolves around the idea that what has changed (with the second person pronouns) is the use that is given to the pronouns. Based on that, it is important to point out that the type of change this analysis discusses is a change conditioned by

pragmatic factors (and not semantic factors). This study, therefore, makes a contribution to understanding of change in address systems, both cross-linguistically and to Spanish.

2.3.2 Historical Sociolinguistics

Understanding how language changes occur and are spread through social networks is the key concept of the work of Alexander Bergs, whose work is concerned with language change in early periods of the English language. Similar to this dissertation, Bergs (2005) analyzes family letters as a resource of documentation to study linguistic change. His work is based on the study of a collection of documents known as the *Paston Letters*, written between 1421 and 1503. The study is focused on details of actual linguistic change: innovation, actuation and diffusion including the sociolinguistic aspects of language change. Language change should be investigated from the perspective of the language as a whole, taking into account both the (internal) linguistic structure but also the social structure⁶¹ in which the language is embedded (following Weinreich *et al.* 1968).

Linguistic variation, as is well known, is not random, but is influenced by a number of factors. These factors fall both inside and outside the boundaries of “linguistics proper”: “Linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations which are confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behavior.” (Weinrich, Labov and Herzog 1968:188). In addition to classical social factors found in sociolinguistics (class, gender, age, and style), my dissertation considers the social networks to which the individuals belong⁶².

Following Bergs (2005), this dissertation emphasizes how historical patterns of variation are present at the group level, and at the individual level. In this matter, the factors that guide variation will not be random, since they should hold at both levels. As Bergs points out,

⁶¹ Regarding the internal linguistic structure, the linguistic phenomena analyzed considered part of the language change should be linguistic traits that are available to the whole speech community (beyond idiolect); regarding changes embedded in social structures, the social context taken into account is the social context of the whole speech community (Weinrich, Labov and Herzog 1968: 185).

⁶² This doctoral research does not follow or mirror the study of Bergs (e.g. family tree) in terms of the construction of the social networks given the availability of the letters. It does take into account the types of social networks existent in Costa Rica during colonial times in terms of family vs. not family, for example. See below for further details.

however, studies in historical sociolinguistics must make do with the data that is available. In historical studies, we cannot go back to our informants and elicit some more social or linguistic data. They cannot endlessly expand their (necessarily defective) database. Regarding the validity of the data, Bergs is very careful to remark about not only the type of data that can be used in a historical sociolinguistics study, but also on the quality of this type of material (see also Romaine 1982). As opposed to current studies, “In historical studies, there is no such thing as “sufficient data”- historical linguistics is in some respect still the art of making the best use out of bad data. For any given period of time or group of people, there is only so much data available to the researcher- going back and eliciting some more is not an option and neither is planning a bigger study right from the outset.” (Bergs 2005: 45; cf. Labov 1994:11; Romaine 1982).

Another important limitation in historical sociolinguistics is that it also deals with the problem of grammaticality. Historical linguistic studies cannot proceed in the same way as present-day studies: “Present-day studies can rely on experiments and native speaker intuition as evidence for grammaticality. Obviously, neither of these is available to historical linguists. Thus, historical linguistics generally only has positive evidence available. In other words: whatever construction is actually there in the data should have been grammatical. If some construction does not occur in the data, this does not allow for the conclusion that it was ungrammatical” (Bergs 2005: 14).

The observer’s paradox, however typical for modern sociolinguistic research, does not appear to exist in the case of the historical linguistics, since the data are of written nature and the researcher was not “there” monitoring. Nonetheless, there is some type of monitoring activity, since in the case of written language; the Speaker/Writer already exerts some type of self monitoring. As Bergs writes, “Writing is a self-conscious and monitored activity that does not come naturally, as the spoken vernacular is said to do (cf. Koch 1978). The written mode is phylogenetically and ontogenetically different from the spoken mode and therefore does not allow, conceptually, for a completely unmonitored production of speech. “The notion of a written vernacular (...) should be substituted for a more or less self-conscious style” (19).

The concept of social network is also central to Bergs’ study. However, our data does not allow constructing a social structure as the one established by the Paston letters which were written by several members of a family separated by generations. Given the characteristics of the letters and manuscripts collected for the study of Costa Rican address forms, this type of social

network could not be replicated. Nonetheless, the data used in this dissertation represent different types of interactions between various individuals that belonged to different social groups within the Costa Rican society of the time, and interacted in an informal environment (see chapter 3 for a description of the data).

Another important study in historical sociolinguistics and variation is Wendy Ayres-Bennet's study on variation in seventeenth century France. Her work relies particularly on the theoretical framework given by Suzanne Romaine. Romaine's premise is that if variation in language is a phenomenon present in current language varieties, it must have also been present in previous stages in languages. In other words, languages varied in the past just as they do today. An important element contributed by Ayres-Bennet that is not mentioned in other studies with sociohistorical approach (e.g. Bergs) is the importance of avoiding, during the analysis, anachronistic judgments over the data. That is, applying modern concepts or categorizations that could be made to current state of a language, to a previous stage of that language should be avoided. As Ayres-Bennet remarks: " Any attempt to reconstruct spoken varieties has to take into account the social intercourse , and the norms contemporary to the specific phase in the history of the language" (Ayres-Bennet:14). At the same time, she also calls attention to the fact that it involves a certain amount of risk to consider a linguistic phenomenon as new in a current state of the language, solely on the basis of inadequate evidence of past use.

Another important contribution is her perspective on variation and change. In her view, the study of variation in previous stages of the language (in this case, French) can allow for an understanding of the pattern followed by innovations and changes (innovations that become part of the system). She points out, however, that as long as variation exists, change has not taken place, although she remarks, the social weight or significance of the variants may change.

2.3.3 Semantic change

The theoretical framework from the field of semantic change is used in this study to address the semantic change for the pronoun *usted*. Traugott and Dasher (2005) focus their attention on semantic change in two languages with a long tradition of written texts, namely, English and Japanese. Their approach is cross-linguistic, in that they analyze different linguistic features in English and Japanese from the perspective both of historical semantics and

pragmatics. The theoretical framework of their work is “integrative functionalist” linguistics. Phenomena are considered to be systematic and partly arbitrary, but so closely tied to cognitive and social factors as not to be self-contained, they are therefore in part not arbitrary. In an effort to explain different phenomena, they clarify and develop a series of concepts that will be summarized in the following paragraphs.

Semantic change is seen as arising out of pragmatic uses that speakers or writers employ when using language “...most especially out of the preferred strategies that speakers/writers use in communicating with addressees. [Those strategies] ... are remarkably widely attested, but that can be violated under particular, often social, circumstances ranging from shifts in ideological values to the development of various technologies. “Regularity” is to be understood as typical change or frequent replication across time and across languages, not as analogous to the neogrammarian idea of unexceptionless change in phonology.” (Traugott and Dasher 2005:XI).

Traditionally, it has been suggested that meaning changes can go in either of two directions: generalization or narrowing, metaphor or metonymy. Despite this tradition, the data provided by Traugott and Dasher show that, when the trace of the lexemes is done cross-linguistically, evidence for unidirectional changes is to be found. Regularities are prototypical types of changes that are replicated across times and languages. In the process, pragmatic meanings come to be conventionalized and reanalyzed as semantic polysemies. “In particular, they are bound up with the mechanisms that we call “invited inferencing” and “subjectification” (Traugott and Dasher 2005: 1).

Some structures can have two meanings, like the Japanese *-beki*, expresses obligation in some contexts and probability in others. It has often been pointed out that when an item has the meanings of both obligation and epistemic possibility, the obligation sense precedes the epistemic one in the history of language in question (similar to *must* in English; cf. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994; Dahl 2000). Is this coincidence the result of mere happenstance or can they be construed as outcomes of similar cognitive and communicative processes?

It is relevant to distinguish between changes at micro level and changes at macro level. Micro level changes are the ones that happen due to specific properties of the lexeme, due to the lexical or grammatical system of the language. At macro-level, the direction of semantic change is highly predictable, not only within a language but also cross-linguistically.

There are three factors taken into account when analyzing data taken from English and Japanese, factors regarding cognitive and functional issues:

1. Cognitive studies of the structuring of semantic domains.
2. Pragmatics, especially the pragmatics of the conventionalizing of implicatures (conventionalized implicatures are labeled in their work as “invented inferences” that arise in language use).
3. Discourse analysis conceived as the interaction of grammar and use, but adapted to the study of written texts because these are the prime data for studies of change with a long time-depth.

In order to explain the pragmatic area, Traugott and Dasher proposed an Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change. The term is meant to elide the complexities of communication in which the speaker/writer evokes implicatures and invites the addressee /reader to infer them.

Throughout their research they have found cross-linguistically an important unifying thread in semantic change which is the tendency for meanings to undergo subjectification (a meaning is expressed from the Speaker/Writer’s perspective) or intersubjetification (meanings come to express grounding in the relationship between speaker /writer and addressee/ reader explicitly). This first concept will be used in this study to explain the semantic change of the pronoun *usted*, since we do not have access to the return letters.

In their study, Traugott and Dasher also found support that proved that communicative aspects of language (pragmatic ones) can shape the form of the grammar. Traugott and Dasher are clearly pointing out a connection between meaning and grammar. Their understanding of meaning is that meaning does exist both at the cognitive and at the communicative levels. Meaning as a category is more clearly expressed at the level of the lexicon, and as they point out, lexemes are particular language representations of macro level conceptual structures.

What are macro level conceptual structures? They are concepts such as MOTION, LOCATION, CONDITION, DEGREE, HUMAN BEING, EPISTEMIC ATTITUDE (Traugott and Dasher 2005: 7). Macro level conceptual structures are expressed through abstract linguistic meanings (that are culturally dependent) and they are linguistic representations of things like situation types (processes, activities and states), the participants in them (agent, experience), belief types (modalities) and communicative situations (speech acts). These types (processes,

activities, agents, speech acts) are discrete but not categorically so, therefore, the distinctions established between abstract linguistic representations are gradient rather than fully determined. The macro level conceptualization of a meaning is a concept that will be used to offer a new understanding, for the first time, of the explanation of the semantic change of the pronoun *usted* from expressing only a withdrawal meaning to expressing both withdrawal and approach meaning.

Traugott and Dasher elaborate their analysis of language change from **the perspective of the discourse**. In that sense, their data are the result of processes and interactions of language in use, as in this present study, and not constructed or elaborated data (or examples of linguistic competence abstracted from context). Again, their work focuses on meaning at the cognitive level (mental representations) but also of communicative meaning (that is, between the Speaker/Writer (SP/W) and Addressee/Reader (AD/R) as participants in a dyadic interaction). In the latter perspective it is important to keep in mind that the interaction between SP/W and AD/R are processes that imply the actual use of language, the “here and now” production of constructions, lexical items paradigmatically organized but brought to the syntagmatic level (and therefore also the pragmatic level) through the actual use of the language. In this context is where a concept such as an invited reference (or a conversational implicature) can happen.

Important phenomena that are part of semantic change and should be taken into account in any study related to semantic change are the terms of *polysemy* and *homonymy*. Semantic change cannot be studied without drawing on a theory of polysemy because of the nature of change. Every change, at any level, involves not just the replacement of meaning A for meaning B. The existence of meaning A is the first stage, then the coexistence (polysemy) of meaning A with meaning B (A~B) and then sometimes, B alone. Older meanings usually are more restricted in use, and eventually may disappear. Typically, a lexeme can add more and more meanings over time. Positing polysemy is often considered problematic. On the one hand, there is the synchronic type of analysis that privileges the notion that one form and one meaning would be ideal. This correlation would be ideal for the AD/R since it would minimize ambiguity. However, there is no evidence that SP/Ws actually strive for this ideal in everyday use of language. Homonymy, on the other hand, refers to coexistent meanings associated with the same form. Where there is a synchronic sense relationship (coexistent meanings associated with the same form), there is usually a historical relationship and development behind it. Typically it is a

relationship of an older meaning and a newer one that developed out of specific contexts. However, synchronic convergence of what appear to be historically unrelated meanings cannot be ruled out.

When two polysemous meanings have lost their relationship so that they become two homonyms, it becomes a methodological problem for the historical linguist. Polysemy is a central concept within the frame of semantics and semantic change. It arises out of processes of invited inference. How pragmatic inferences are employed in any situation is a matter of language use.

2.3.3.1 *Meaning and use*

Regarding invited inference arising out of and being exploited in the flow of speech, Traugott and Dasher build on Levinson who distinguishes three levels of meaning relevant to a lexeme.

a. Coded meaning: meanings that are coded in the word, they are part of the semantics of the lexeme. An example could be the meaning of the conjunction “after” when introducing finite clauses in English⁶³: the coded meaning of the conjunction “after” is “at a time later than”. Same way, the conjunction “since” can also have a encoded meaning like “from the time that” and also it can have the coded meaning of “because”. The difference regarding the coded meaning between “after” and “since” is that whereas the latter is polysemous, the former is not.

b. Utterance-type meaning: these are generalized invited inferences that are already conventionalized with certain lexemes or constructions that are specific to a speech community and are or can be used to imply certain meanings. They can be pragmatically ambiguous but not semantically ambiguous. An example of “after” having a meaning acquired through an invited inference can be seen in the following sentence: “after the trip to Minnesota, she felt very tired” meaning “because of the trip to Minnesota, she felt very tired”. In this context, “after” acquires , through an invited inference, the meaning of causality, but causality is not a coded meaning of “after” but an invited inference. The fact that it is not a coded meaning can be easily proven, the causality meaning can be easily canceled as in “After the trip to Minnesota, she felt very tired. It

⁶³ The examples are taken from Traugott and Dasher (2002: 16-17)

turned out she had been sick for quite some time”, in whose context, “after” exhibits the coded meaning of “at a time later than”.

c. Utterance-token meanings: these are also invited inferences that are not conventionalized yet into commonly used implicatures. Those are invited inferences that happen in context and acquire the meaning pragmatically, but, as Traugott and Dasher point out, they may also be based on linguistic knowledge. These types of meanings arise from the context and they are specific to each communicative situation, that is (keeping with the example used previously) that the meaning “at a time later than” can be also be interpreted with a causality meaning. As Traugott and Dasher point out, that does not imply that all languages will encode the meaning “at a timer later than” but if they do, then there is the assumption that if the structures are the same across different languages (or the languages under consideration) the same invited inference of causality may arise; the causality meaning then will be a non conventionalized implicature.

These three different types of meaning are in play when SP/W and AD/R interact, and this also holds true for dyadic interactions at the written level. Language users internalize a system or grammar. Drawing on various strategies of production and perception they engage in language use, “activities in which people do things with language” (Clark 1996:3, quoted by Traugott and Dasher). Such activities are usually individual or personal in character, but they are produced and reproduced within the larger social settings, daily activities such as trading transactions, breakfast conversations, trials, and through letters, dramas or novels.

For Traugott and Dasher, the presence of (at least) a SP/W and AD/R is essential in the “reading” made of the meaning of what is said, and not just said, but written. Following the approach given in discourse analysis, in their study, the reader is seen as an active participant who also makes inferences of meaning (same as the addressee) in a similar way the writer also expresses linguistic content with an intended meaning. The AD/R in turn has to exert the invited inference of what was said by the SP/W.

2.3.3.2 *The notions of subjectivity and intersubjectivity*

Not all the theory developed by Traugott and Dasher applies to this study, but the concept of *subjectivity*, and also *intersubjectivity*⁶⁴ are relevant for the role they play in the understanding of the semantic/pragmatic change of the pronoun *usted*. In Traugott and Dasher's words: In language use, subjectivity "involves the expression of self and the representation of a speaker's perspective or point of view in discourse –what has been called the speaker's imprint". Like Bühler and Jakobson, Benveniste saw the SP/W-AD/R dyad as the condition of ground for linguistic communication, and characterized this relationship as one of "intersubjectivity", in communication each participant is a speaking subject who is aware of the other participant as a speaking subject (Benveniste 1971)." (Traugott and Dasher 2005:20).

How do these notions relate to invited inferences (conventional implicatures)? When SP/W and AD/R interact, they pick or make their elections based on a set of linguistic features available, but the selection implies not just choosing a specific linguistic feature, but also selections regarding register. Linguistic choices, then, are made with a specific intent and a specific codification of that intent. In synthesis, subjectivity codifies SP/W's point of view, as, for example, in deixis. Intersubjectivity, on the other hand, codifies the SP/W's attention to the image of the "self" of AD/R, like in honorification.

A last remark regarding subjectivity and intersubjectivity and invited inferences is: if what is said implies more than what is meant, how can the AD/R know the explicit meaning of an X invited inference? The explicitness or specific/explicit meaning **is a matter of context**. Both subjectivity and intersubjectivity rely on the context for its interpretation and, at the same time, are created in context. In the perspective of semantic change, and from a historical perspective, subjectification precedes intersubjectification.

The main force behind semantic change, then, is pragmatic in nature. Traugott and Dasher agree in the approach given to semantic change by Lewandowska-Tomaszcyk (1985) regarding the fact that at the start, meaning is given, but later, in the course of interaction between SP/W and AD/R, meaning is constructed together between SP/W and AD/R in the

⁶⁴ When subjectivity is mentioned as a factor on semantic/pragmatic change, some level of intersubjectivity is somehow implied, given the necessary presence of the hearer/speaker in the communicative exchange.

ongoing interaction, and this is the setting in which variability and change can take place in the realm of semantics.

Semantic change is usually analyzed around the three following possibilities:

1. Given the form-meaning pair L (lexeme) and M (meaning), how has the M of L changed?
2. Given a conceptual structure C or a meaning M, what lexemes are related?
3. Given a conceptual structure C, what connections can be made from or to other Cs?

Semantic change is typically thought of in terms of three questions:

1. Given the form-meaning pair L (lexeme) what changes did meaning M of L undergo?
2. Given a conceptual structure C, or meaning M, what lexemes can it be expressed by?
3. Given C, what paths of semantic change can be found to or from other C's?

Possibility 1 is semasiological in nature, possibility 2 is onomasiological in nature, but changes involving possibility 3 have to do with changes in conceptual structures. What is of particular relevance, found through the cross-linguistic studies carried out and mentioned by Traugott and Dasher, is the growing evidence regarding the fact that semantic change is unidirectional (also relevant for the purposes of this study).

Two mechanisms of change are recognized in morphosyntactic and phonological change: reanalysis and analogy (borrowing as well, but it will not be discussed here). Likewise, in semantic change, two mechanisms are usually recognized, metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor and metonymy as defined as follows: “There are only two ways of going about that: using words for the near neighbors of the things you mean (metonymy) or using words for the look-alikes (resemblars) of what you mean (metaphor)”. (Nehrlich and Clarke, in Traugott and Dasher 2005:27).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ *Metaphor* and *metonymy* are the terms used for the synchronic approach. *Metaphorization* and *metonymization* are the terms Traugott and Dasher use for diachronic approach.

For the most of the 20th century metaphor/metaphorization was considered the major factor in semantic change. Metaphorization is basically an analogical principle, and involves conceptualizing one element of a conceptual structure C, in terms of an element of another conceptual structure. Since it operates “*between* domains” (Sweetser 1990), processes said to be motivated by metaphorization are conceptualized primarily in terms of comparison and of “sources” and “targets” in different (and discontinuous) conceptual domains, though constrained by paradigmatic relationships of same and differences.

What is understood as a domain varies. For some authors, syntax, semantic, phonology are considered large-scale domains; for others, space and time are also large-scale domains, which are understood here under the label of “conceptual structures”, which allow to differentiate what is “in different domains” (metaphorization) or the “same domain” (metonymy).

But metonymization should also be understood as a conceptual phenomenon. Metonymization is a conceptual mechanism by which invited inferences are semanticized throughout time. In the present study we foresee a connection between changes in the conceptual structure of the second person (withdrawal) pronoun *usted* and invited inferences. (Regarding the change at conceptual structure level between withdrawal, approach and “face”, see Analysis Chapter). Traugott and Dasher (2005) expand the notion of conceptual metonymy to account for subjectification and intersubjectification. Both processes rely on the SP/W –AD/R dyad and by hypothesis derive from the mechanism of metonymic inference combined with rhetorical strategizing in the context of the speech event.

Subjectivity, from a diachronic perspective, is the process through which SP/Ws develop meanings of a specific lexeme that ends codifying perspectives and attitudes of SP/Ws on a speech act. Subjectification falls out of the SP/W- AD/R interaction and does not contemplate the participation of the AD/R to interpret invited inferences: “In particular, it is the metonymically based process by which SP/Ws recruit meanings that function to convey information to do the work of communication: to express and to regulate beliefs, attitudes, etc. (it involves intersubjectivity to some degree)” (Traugott and Dasher: 30). Through the definitions given here regarding these two concepts, it is now clear that subjectification and intersubjectification belong to the type of changes of semasiological character, because it deals with the change in meaning of specific lexical items and constructions.

2.3.3.3 *The invited inferencing theory of semantic change model of semantic change*

In summary, at a particular moment in time T-1, the meaning M of a lexeme L is linked to a conceptual structure C. Through use and production of language, SP/Ws use mechanisms such as metaphorization, metonymization (included invited inferencing, subjectification, intersubjectification) and objectification in the context of spoken and written discourses.

Historically, this is reflected in processes that go from coded meanings to utterances that are interpreted and later semanticized/pragmaticized through invited inferences; or from pragmatically polysemous meanings to new semantically coded meanings. As it was also described in the variationistic approach, the IITSC (invited inferencing theory of semantic change) the changes or linguistic innovations can start at the individual level but in order to become part of the system it should be spread through the community or in Milroy's words, be used and spoken by more than one speaker.

Evidence that a meaning has been semanticized can be found at written level when SP/W uses the lexeme or linguistic feature **in a new context**. "In written records, clear evidence of semanticization of a polysemy typically comes from the appearance of an item in a "new" context in which the earlier meaning(s) of the item would not make sense. At a later time the older meaning may or may not disappear; if it does, this is further confirmation of the earlier coding of the former pragmatically invited inference." (Traugott and Dasher 2005:44).

For the type of study carried out by Traugott and Dasher, they used primarily written texts, mainly text types such as drama, personal letters and trials (see Traugott and Dasher 2005: 47). Usually historical works rely on editions and as Traugott and Dasher point out, editions that reflect practices that display emendations and addition of punctuations. For the purpose of the present dissertation study, this has been avoided by transcribing (paleographing) personally the letters. Those manuscripts or excerpts taken from other sources were made by historians or other linguists maintaining the original graphs.

Summarizing, the semantic change takes place during the interaction sustained by SP/W with an AD/R and the negotiation of meaning they necessarily carry out. The main tendency on the semantic change is found in the semasiological field toward subjectivity and focusing on the SP/W's perspective. When attention is also given to AD/R, then intersubjectivity takes place (which increases the explicit marking of subjectivity).

Other lines of work in the pragmatics of presuppositions, implicatures and inferences combined with close textual study suggest a way to reconceptualize metonymy as a major language-internal force in semantic change. In the area of pragmatic studies, Traugott and Dasher quote Grice in that it is possible for a conversational implicature to become conventionalized. This type of shift was also mentioned by Brown and Levinson and Levinson (1978, 1987). About this type of shift Traugott and Dasher point out: "It is possible to argue that there is a sequence from particularized through generalized conversational implicatures to conventional implicatures. (Traugott and Dasher 2005: 80). As a consequence, metonymy was then thought of as a concept that expresses the use of the language in syntagmatic contexts: and summarizes or express the semantic change in context. In Traugott and Dasher's perspective, subjectification can be understood as a type of metonymy, given its association with the SP/W perspective.

The concepts of grammaticalization and unidirectionality are important to understand how subjectification and the directionality of the semantic change works. As it is stated also by Traugott and Dasher, grammaticalization, as it was conceptualized by Meillet, is the development of lexemes into grammatical items, that is, lexical material acquires functional status, becomes part of a grammatical construction (Traugott and Dasher 2005:81) and the direction of that change, so to speak, is "one way".

On their work, the characteristics of grammaticalization are summarized as follows:

1. A specific construction
2. Bleaching
3. Pragmatic strengthening, subjectification, and ultimate semanticization as a polysemy.
4. Reanalysis
5. Fixing on the construction
6. Phonological attrition.

Characteristics 1 to 3 are typical of lexical change, independent of grammatical change. These changes take place when speakers use old forms and constructions with new meanings, both semantic and determined pragmatically, when speakers try to communicate in the more efficient way. As the authors point out, grammaticalization is motivated by the dyadic communicative situation. This process of grammaticalization and semantic change is particularly relevant for the semantic change of the pronoun *usted* in this dissertation (see Linguistic Analysis and Sociolinguistic Analysis chapters).

2.3.3.4 *Social deictics*

The discussion of personal address forms fall within what is known as *social deictics*. Traugott and Dasher dedicate a chapter to the development (and semantic changes implied) of social deictics. Social deictics are the linguistic features that encode within their semantic structures the relative social standing of any participant in a given interaction. Relative social standing could be superiority/inferiority, (non) intimacy; in-group vs. out-group status, etc. The social deictic “specifies” the social standing of the SP/W relative to the AD/R. Well known examples of social deictics include contrasting second person singular *tu/vous* pronouns in European languages (T-V). Referent Social Deictics index the social status (relative status or intimacy) of one or more participants **in a given interaction**.

Second person pronouns that express T-V distinctions only index the social status of AD/R by including AD/R as a participant (i.e. as a “referent”). Given the fact that the majority of the social deictics encodes or express politeness, the nature of politeness from a sociolinguistic point of view is therefore relevant. There have been many approaches to social deictics from this perspective, the majority of them, from a Western perspective. The more influential approach has been the one proposed and developed by Brown and Levinson (1960) that establishes that each individual looks up for a self-image or face, which is double sided: negative face (the basic claim to territories and freedom from imposition) and positive face (the desire that self –image be appreciated by the interactants) (see discussion of Brown and Levinson in this chapter).

An important remark made by Traugott and Dasher is that “Politeness is thus not only intrinsically subjective, as Brown and Levinson’s approach might suggest, but also intrinsically intersubjective. (Traugott and Dasher 2005:229). Traugott and Dasher point out that there is a

relationship between how image needs are conceived and the ways politeness is expressed. Both are intertwined with the ideologies of power in the speech communities in which they are used. As the authors' remark, quoting Held:

“... Held summarizes shifts in power relations as a social process of redistribution in terms of transfer from, for example, social rank to social value (through the “bourgeoisisation” of society), and from vertical to horizontal distance, in which social hierarchy is replaced by “psychological, affective components of proximity, familiarity” (Held 1999:24). Such transfers reflect societal transformations. They are represented and indeed constituted in shifts in linguistic practice, but are independent of the types of regularity in semantic change discussed here. (Traugott and Dasher: 229-230).

T-V pronouns semantically encode social deictic contrasts and therefore are to be classified as social deictics. In contrast, third person expressions (the professor or the doctor) and even first person plural expressions (*Have we eaten yet?*) as also recognized by the speaker as a way to refer to the second person in order to express politeness. These strategies are used in recognized and systematic ways, but are not semantically encoded in the meanings of those lexical items (Traugott and Dasher 2005:230)

It is also important to remark that a social deictic (SD) is non deictic if it does not point out the social status of the participant. As a specific example, Traugott and Dasher mention the case of Japanese in which honorific pronouns are all referent SDs. The consideration of which lexemes and constructions develop semantically encoded referent honorific meanings in the history of Japanese give support to the idea that invited inference can actually trigger change.

The development of social deictic meaning intrinsically involves intersubjectification. Social deictics express SP/W's attention to AD/R's image needs. Nevertheless, subjectification appears in early stages, later on, some develop intersubjectification, when the social deictic expression changes its meaning from referential social deictic to addressee social deictic.

2.3.4 Politeness theoretical framework

Social deixis⁶⁶ is a key concept that belongs to the field of politeness theory. This framework is considered relevant in this dissertation since it helps in analyzing the factors that

⁶⁶ Social deictics are terms that encode, at semantic level, the social standing of the participant in a given interaction by specifying the social standing of X participant from the perspective of the SP/W in regard to the AD/R and other elements present in the (conceptualized) speech event. (Traugott and Dasher 2005: 226).

could trigger semantic shift in the use of the address pronouns and help explain the consequent variation and co-variation in the uses of the pronouns under study, in particular, the evolution of the pronoun *usted*.

The notion of face, forwarded by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, provides a starting point. According to Brown and Levinson, the heart of any human communicative interaction is the construction of a message that is conveyed, or received. In these interactions, many types of actions or contents may be communicated, varying from requests to offers or complaints. Underlying the intended communication of these of interactions and independent of the content is the notion of face. Speaker (S) and hearer (H) are competent individuals in an interaction. Each has ‘face’, i.e. “the public self image that every member wants to claim for himself”, which consists of two related aspects: negative and positive face. Negative face is the basic claim for territories, personal preserves, right to non-distraction – i.e. freedom of actions and freedom from imposition. Positive face is the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 61). And upon the concept of face are constructed not just the interactions as such, but all types of social relationships.

For Brown and Levinson, a fluent speaker of any natural language would have at least two characteristics: rationality and face. By rationality, Brown and Levinson refer to “...the application of a specific mode of reasoning [...] which guarantees inferences from ends or goals to means that will satisfy those ends” (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987: 64) . By face, as mentioned before, it is understood to mean “...the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself”⁶⁷ (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 61). One important aspect of Brown and Levinson’s approach is that in any given interaction, the participants, e.g. speakers, know what they are expected to do in specific interactions. That is, individuals follow specific conventions in order to reach intended objectives in an interaction. Brown and Levinson sustain that despite the different cultural outcomes of such conventions, it is common to all natural languages and their speakers. The common notion of conventions that shape interactions and the fact that individuals display rationality and face in such interactions is present in all speakers.

⁶⁷ Face consist of two different but related factors: negative face and positive face (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 61) See following note for a definition.

On how these interactions take place, Brown and Levinson build on the following assumptions:

1. All interactants (e.g. MPs> model persons) have positive and negative face⁶⁸ and are rational agents (they rely on specific means to reach their goals (ends)).
2. It is in the interest of both interactants to keep each other's face.
3. Some interactions or acts threaten face. Those are known as "face threatening acts", or FTAs for short⁶⁹.
4. Unless the S's wants to threaten H's face is greater than the want to preserve H's face, S will minimize the FTA.
5. The more an act threatens S's face (or H's face) the more S will choose a higher strategy in order to minimize risk of committing an FTA.

Face (the public self-image that an individual can have) displays a high level of vulnerability for the two interactants in a given event. Any rational interactant will avoid face threatening acts or will put into practice strategies to minimize the FTAs, and for that, the Speaker (S) has a set of strategies or steps that can be followed in order to minimize the threat of an FTA.

FTAs are conveyed differently, according to the purpose they are intended to, but FTAs work around three basic aspects (Brown and Levinson: 68).

1. The intention of communicating the content of the FTA.
2. The intention of being efficient or urgent on doing the FTA.
3. The intention or desire of maintaining the H's face to any degree.

S will maintain H's face except when the intention of being efficient or communicating something urgently supersedes keeping H's face.

⁶⁸ Brown and Levinson define negative and positive face as follows: "a. negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction- i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. b. positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality'(crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 61).

⁶⁹ As it was defined at the beginning of this chapter, face threatening acts (FTAs) can be defined as acts that threat the public self image (or face) of a member in a given interaction.

The set of strategies follow a specific order. If the strategy chosen does not minimize the threat, the next strategy (higher in effectiveness and hierarchy) will be chosen. In that way a speaker may choose to:

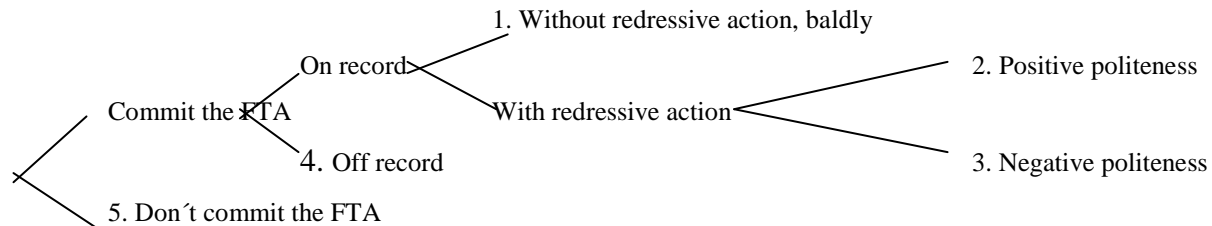


Figure 2.1. Possible strategies for making FTAs
(Taken from Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987: 69)

By choosing a higher strategy, the implication for the S is that if he chooses to do the FTA, he will choose to do it **on record** (S will communicate an intention unambiguously, the utterance will be not subject to interpretation of any kind, S will commit to do something, e.g., a promise, “I promise to come tomorrow”), and **without redressive action, baldly** (the speech act/task will be performed in a direct and clear way, with very low or no risk for the H’s face, like in “Come in, sit down”. Frequently it takes the form of a suggestion or request, or in cases when S and H understand that keeping face can be postponed due to certain emergencies, (like saying “Leave the house now!” if the house is on fire). This is marked in the figure as the first strategy. If after this strategy is applied, and the FTA is not minimized, then the second strategy will be applied: to do the FTA **on record but with redressive action** (with the intent of minimizing the impact of the FTA, the redressive action tries to “give face” to the addressee and communicate that no FTA is intended) through the use of strategies that will emphasize **positive politeness**. That is, increasing the positive face of the H by treating him/her as an in-group member or friend. It is a strategy based on approaching the H. The third higher strategy will be to perform an act **with redressive action but through negative politeness**, by paying attention to/satisfying the negative face of the H, that is, the right of the H to keep his territory, freedom and self-determination. Examples of this will be apologies for interfering or transgressing, therefore and it is avoidance based. The fourth strategy will be going off record. Through the

speech act more than one intention is communicated and the S is not specifically committed to perform a particular action. Examples of off record strategies are rhetorical questions, metaphor, irony, or any kind of expressions that hints at what the S wants yet without communicating it directly). The fifth and last strategy will be not performing the FTA at all.

An interactant possesses certain rational capacities, that is, the capacity to reason and use specific means (strategies) to reach the goal of the interaction. An important aspect of face is that it is an emotional investment; it can be lost, maintained or enhanced and should be attended to at all times in the interaction. Everyone's face depends on the other participant's face; therefore, participants usually are cooperative on maintaining each other's face. Whereas the ways to carry out this task can have particular cultural expressions, Brown and Levinson assume that the existence of a public image or face and the social need that each individual has to orient him or herself in social interactions, are of universal character.

The concept of face presented by Brown and Levinson is based on the understanding of face as the wants that each individual has and the recognition of the wants that other individuals have. Under this perspective it is easy to understand the core meaning of negative face, which is not to be impeded by others and to have freedom of action. It is less clear, as Brown and Levinson point out, to understand face as wants for the positive face. For positive face, this implies that the factors of being recognized, understood and accepted by others have also to be thought of as characteristics that are desirable by others. Those wants can be of different types:

1. They could be material or non-material: going for a walk, love.
2. The want may not be specifically only for S, but also for H.
3. S may wish that his/her wants may be particularly desirable for everybody, but specially for specific individuals, and S may want to have his or her wants as desirable at many levels (as a partner, as a member of a church, etc).

The other component of interactions, the rationality, implies the ability of S or H to use specific means to reach specific goals (ends). This reasoning implies following not just the logic behind the reasoning process, but, more importantly, the ability to weigh/ between different means and to choose the one that would be more suitable to reach a specific goal, so that the speaker may "...choose the one that most satisfies the desired goals" (Brown and Levinson: 65).

Part of the decision making of the means chosen to reach the desired goal is the general understanding that S or H would make the best decision at a minimum cost.

2.3.4.1 Face Threatening Acts (FTAs)

In the interactions between S and H, some of the acts performed by the individuals threaten the face intrinsically, that is, the very nature of the speech act portrays a threat to the other's face (verbally or non-verbally). FTAs can be classified according to two types: a) Kinds of face threatened: acts that threaten negative face vs. acts that threaten positive face, b) Threats to H's face versus threats to S's face. (Strategies on how to perform FTAs were explained in the previous section).

Regarding threats to negative face, the types of acts contemplated are those that threaten the hearer's negative face: speaker acts in such a way that he does impede hearer's freedom of action and/or does not avoid impeding hearer's freedom of action. A series of examples are given to clarify what is a threat to the negative face. A way to prevent the freedom of action would be preventing the hearer to do or perform an action, or, making clear to the hearer that he has to perform an action. In that way, the freedom of action of the hearer is somehow impeded. Examples of these types of acts can be: orders or requests in which S indicates to the H to commit a particular act, suggestions, advice, reminders, threats or warnings, among other actions. A second type of act through which the S threatens the H's negative face is when the S exerts pressure on H to accept or reject offers and/or promises, making the H incur in a debt. A third type of act in which the freedom of action of the H is threatened (threat to negative face) is through the expression of an act in which the S communicates a desire towards H or H's goods. Examples include compliments or expression of strong or negative emotions towards H, expression of envy, admiration (the S may like something H has) or anger (attempting to harm H or H's goods).

2.3.4.2 Positive face

Acts that threaten positive face are those acts that threaten the self-image of the H, basically those acts that threaten H's desire that his image will be accepted and approved. What

is communicated through the FTA towards the positive face of the H is that S does not care about H's feelings or wants. In other words, that S does not want what H wants (Brown and Levinson: 66). Such FTAs can be performed **expressing some negative evaluation of some aspect of H's positive face**: disapproval, criticism, accusations, insults in which obviously the self-image of the H is not being approved, or, also, through the expression of contradictions, disagreements or challenges (through the establishment or expression that the H may be wrong, the self-image of H is also somehow "disapproved"). Another way to perform an FTA towards the positive face of the H is when the S expresses that she or he does not care about or is indifferent towards the H's positive face through acts such as the expression of violent emotions (S can cause fears in H or make H to be afraid of S), through the mention of taboo topics (in an inappropriate event or situation) or acts of irreverence through which S expresses that he does not take into account the H's values (which are important for the H's self-image). In this same set of actions that may threaten the H's positive face are those actions that may cause some distress to the H through the expression of bad news about H or good news about S (through boasting). Talking about sensitive topics such as religion, politics or race is also another way to threaten the positive face of the H. These topics can create a situation in which the positive face of the H may be threatened depending on the alignment of the political or religious affiliation of the H. Finally, two other acts that involve a threat to the positive face of the H are interrupting the H's talk (here the threat is posed both to positive face, e.g. not paying attention to H or by not letting the H perform his or her right to talk with no impositions); the threat may also occur through the inappropriate use of terms of address (intentionally or accidentally misidentifying the H, producing offense or embarrassment).

In the interaction between S and H, S's face can also be threatened (simultaneously with threatens to H's face) and they can be divided as: a. acts that offend S's negative face and b. acts that directly damage the S's face.

Among those acts that offend S's negative face are those related to the expression of thanks from the H's part, acceptance of apologies, excuses, acceptance of offers and unwanted promises and offers. Through the expression of thanks and the acceptance of apologies, S may go into a debt, or acceptance of it, causing S to be more humble, constraining in that way S's freedom of action, e.g. S's negative face. Through the expression of excuses from S's part, S may be communicating that he failed to perform an act, causing, in this context, damage to the

self-image of the S. Through the acceptance of offers (e.g. incurring of a debt) and committing to unwanted promises and offers that the S is not so willing to perform (limiting his freedom of action but at the same time not paying attention to the H's wants, affecting H's positive face), S also incurs obligation, acts that affect S's negative face.

The second type of acts that directly affect the S's face are apologies, acceptance of a compliment, physically stumbling or falling down, self-humiliation or acting stupid, confessions or acceptance of culpability and emotional leakage (no control of laugh and/or tears). Self-humiliation, stumbling or falling down directly affect the public self-image of the S, whereas the acceptance of a compliment will may require to S to return the compliment to H, also affecting the negative face of S (acting without an imposition). Acceptance of culpability will also imply the acceptance that the S did not do something he was expected to do, or did do something he was not supposed to do.

2.3.4.2 Face with-in groups

Regarding the understanding of the concept of face at deeper levels of abstraction, Terkourafi elaborates on this and on how a different specification of the understanding of face can contribute to the understanding of face within in-groups, specifically in the case of Greek. This further elaboration of face is particularly useful when explaining the semantic development of the pronoun *usted* in Costa Rican Spanish (see Section 2.2.4 in this chapter).

2.3.4.4 Biological grounding of Face

Based on the work of Davidson on behavior of organisms, she points out that human behavior is characterized by approach or withdrawal. Quoting Davidson, Terkourafi emphasizes that: "To approach or withdraw is the fundamental adaptative decision in situations or conditions that have recurred during our evolutionary past" (Terkourafi 2007a). This approach/withdrawal trait is not only common to all human emotions but also phylogenetically primary, universal and preconscious:

"It seems to me that such a dimension provides a natural basis for a universalizing notion of face, from which the latter can inherit two important features: its dualism between positive (approach) and negative (withdrawal) aspects, and its universality" (Terkourafi 2007a : 323)

Intentionality is what makes face a unique human trait. It refers to actions that reflect the mental property of doing something. Acts such as beliefs, intentions, love and judgments all are displays of intentionality. Those acts are intended for someone else, that is, for the *Other* and as Terkourafi points out: “Face is similarly intentional inasmuch as it presupposes an *Other*. Awareness of the *Other*, in turn, presupposes a notion of Self” (Terkourafi 2007a: 323).

The existence and presence of the *Other* is what confers its essence to the notion of Face. Without an *Other* there is no need to keep face, and, therefore, no need to approach or withdraw, since there is no person to whom one may direct any intentions or acts. But the existence of the other also implies the existence of the self, and as long as the self is related to an “other”, the self can have more than one face at the same time (Spencer-Oatey 2007).

A notion of face that presupposes the existence of an “other” and a self means that the notion of Face2 is conceived as a dichotomy or as Terkourafi labels it, as a dyad. But this dyad also has the component of intentionality, both participants working together in directing their actions intentionally. That is equivalent to saying that the notion of face in its universalizing concept is based mainly on intentionality, and it is because of the intentionality that face concerns arise and are fulfilled.

The understanding and conceptualization of Face2⁷⁰ is based on properties or traits that are uniquely human, with its biological ground of approach-withdrawal and with the intentionality component. As for the understanding and conceptualization of Face 1, Face 1 would then be understood as a specific case of Face 2. That is, it would be Face2 being put in context, under the specific cultural and societal expressions of how face is understood in a particular society or group, as it is understood by that group.

The universalizing concept of face, or Face 2, in Terkourafi’s work, is also put in connection with another distinction she makes regarding the social aspects that relate face with in-group interactions, specifically in the case of the *in-group* in Greek society. Those two

⁷⁰ The notion of Face2 is forwarded by Marina Terkourafi in “Toward a universal notion of face for a universal notion of co-operation”. In: I Keckskes and L. Horn. (Eds.). 2007. *Explorations in Pragmatics: Linguistic, Cognitive and Intercultural Aspects* 313-344. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, also mentioned in “Toward a unified theory of politeness, impoliteness and rudeness”. In: Bousfield, Derek and Miriam Locher (eds.) *Impoliteness in Language: Studies on its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice*. LPSP 21. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 45-74.

concepts come from the sociological work of the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) who describes in his work two types of social organizations, those of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft*⁷¹ that correspond, respectively, to a rural or pre-industrial type of society and to the industrial, more urban type of society.

Both type of societies contrast in the very basics of their nature. Whereas *Gemeinschaft* is characterized by common values, a network of personal relationships, based on knowledge of the other; *Gesselschaft* exhibits relationships that are more mechanical and impersonal in nature, being the prototype of relationships like those between a buyer and a seller, where personal relationships have the form of a contract. In this way, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft* represent different types of discourses. In the former, linguistic negotiation is minimal, in the latter linguistic negotiation is required in order to fill the gap left by superficial relationships.

Terkourafi points out the parallels existing between these types of societies and other patterns described/used in sociolinguistic studies such as the one related to social networks (Milroy) with strong ties (*Gemeinschaft*) vs. weak ties (*Gesselschaft*) and also solidarity and power. The difference between those sociolinguistic concepts and the concepts described by Tönnies is that the notions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft* are related to social and economic ways of production. In this context, then, it is possible to see the connection between these types of societies and how language functions.

Terkourafi proposes that the notion of Face 2 can bridge the notions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft*:

“Given shifting definitions of Self and Other, Face 2, defined as approaching/withdrawing from an Other, can motivate and explain shifting allegiances between the individual and surrounding social groups. In this way, Face2 provides the vehicle that effectuates at the micro-level (the level of the interactional dyad) the passage from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesselschaft* at the macro-level (the level of the larger social grouping). At the same time, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft* generate different situated conceptualizations of Face1, which can be related to each other in a principled manner by being brought together under the single umbrella of Face2” (Terkourafi 2009: 276).

⁷¹ These terms are also employed in the discussion of ethno-cultural and sociopolitical languages. Dr. Annamaria Escobar, personal communication.

These notions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gessellschaft* type of societies related to the concept of Face2 will be useful when referring to the extension of the meaning of the *Vous* form in Costa Rican Spanish, namely, the pronoun *usted* and the semantic/pragmatic change experienced by this pronoun as a reflection of the transition from a *Gemeinschaft* type of society to a *Gessellschaft* type of society in Costa Rica, since, it is believed, that the semantic change of the pronoun reflects that transition and therefore a different conceptualization of face, as shown by the pronoun broadening in its meaning, and the concept of face represented by it.

The last piece from the politeness theoretical framework that it is relevant for this analysis is the relationship between face and identity as it is studied by Spencer Oatey (2007), who follows-up with the very often established relationship (but not sufficiently discussed) between face and identity. Taking an approach based on social psychological theories mainly by Bernd Simon (2004), Spencer-Oatey defines the self as “a person’s self concept [that] comprises beliefs about that person’s own attributes or self-characteristics” (Spencer-Oatey 2007:640).

What is meant by beliefs, attributes or self-characteristics is an open list. It could be language spoken to political affiliation, to physical features, or personality (outspoken, shy). All these aspects of the self present different gradation in different individuals, and of course, are traits that are not just perceived but also evaluated and how they are integrated. Those aspects of the self can be evaluated according to its valence (negative, neutral or positive), centrality (core or peripheral), currency (past, present, future), or actuality (actual or ideal) (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 641)

Another central aspect brought from the social psychological perspective is the fact that the self can be defined (and therefore the identity) at the individual or at the group level (collective identity refers to the definition of the self as a member of the group). Spencer-Oatey recalls that there are three different levels of self-representation: the individual level (the personal self), the interpersonal level (the relational self, that represents the self concept in relationship with significant others) and the collective level (the self that derives from belonging to specific group memberships). Particularly relevant in terms of social interaction (and relevant for this study) is the interpersonal level. The three levels also have a cognitive and a social aspect. Whereas through the self, people construct cognitive representations at the same time

they construct and negotiate identities through social interactions (that is, there is no face in isolation).

Summarizing and basing her conclusions on Simon's work, Spencer-Oatey determines that identity functions together with face in order to provide a sense of belonging (relational and collective selves), and a sense of distinctiveness (individual self). It also helps people to find their place in the world. Finally, identity helps to provide people with self respect and self esteem, as well to recognize other people's respect and self esteem.

Putting together the concepts of identity and face, Spencer-Oatey makes clear that identity is a much broader phenomenon than face is. Face is dyadic in nature. However, face is also very sensitive; it is subject to emotions (as Goffman also pointed out), whereas identity is not. Spencer-Oatey proposes that, from a cognitive perspective, identity and face are similar because they both deal with a notion of self-image and a set of multiple self-traits or attributes. But, differently than with identity, **face is associated with attributes that are sensitive to the other:**

“It is associated with positively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others to acknowledge (explicitly or implicitly), and with negatively evaluated attributes that the claimant want others NOT to ascribe to him/her” (Spencer-Oatey: 644).

Spencer-Oatey concludes that the approach to face through the lens of the identity theories can help understand that face is a complex phenomenon since it comprises many aspects: face can be a phenomenon with multiple facets (at individual, relational and collective level). It has also cognitive and social foundations (it helps individuals to know who they are, but they construct that “who” through social interaction) and, finally, that face belongs and functions at individual level, at collective level, and at interpersonal level.

For the purposes of this study, face and identity play a relevant role at the interpersonal level, particularly in those situations related with co-variation in the use of the second person singular pronouns *vos*, *usted* and *tú*.

This dissertation analyzes the evolution of second person singular pronouns *tú*, *vos* and *usted* present in written texts of colonial times in Costa Rica. Given the nature of the study, four theoretical frameworks are needed to sufficiently explain the variation of the pronouns and the semantic/pragmatic change of the deferential pronoun.

The variationist approach looks at the variation and change phenomenon, where change is understood both from the perspective of the internal change of the language but also from the perspective of the pragmatic use of the pronoun *usted* given the social dynamics of the language within the colonial Costa Rican society. The historical sociolinguistics approach analyses the data using sociolinguistic variables such as gender, type of relationship and age, but also, referring to concepts such as social network (with strong and weak ties). The semantic change theory provides the concepts of *subjectification* and *intersubjectification* as the pragmatically based forces behind the change of the pronoun *usted*, and the use of conceptual structures as the core of the meaning of the pronoun. Last, but not least, consideration is made for the contribution that politeness theory offers for the understanding of variation (shift in the use of the pronouns). Politeness theory provides the concepts that, together with semantic change theory, help to give a full account of the change of the pronoun *usted*, employing the notions of face and face threatening acts proposed by Brown and Levinson; combined with the concepts of a universal notion of face or Face 2 as the conceptual tool to explain the change in the understanding of face in societies that make a transition between a *Gemeinschaft* type of society to *Gessellschaft* type of society.

CHAPTER 3

ADDRESS FORM SYSTEMS

3.0. Introduction

The study of address form systems has caught the attention of many researchers for several decades now; from many perspectives that range from sociolinguistics to dialectology and, more recently, from the perspective of politeness, pragmatics, and historical pragmatics. Some of those studies are focused on the meaning shift of the address forms that are generally labeled under the dichotomy proposed by Brown and Gilman of T and V.⁷²

The analysis of the shifting in address form systems has been both from the perspective of synchronic and diachronic studies in many languages, but mainly in Romance languages, and in Germanic and Baltic languages. The following is a summary of the more recent studies in address form systems from both the perspective of synchronic and diachronic studies⁷³.

3.1 Synchronic studies

In the Romance languages group, a study conducted by Cristina Ostermann in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) focuses on the pronoun shift in the Southeastern variety of Brazilian Portuguese in a particular setting. Second person address system in BP is constituted by *você* ('you 'informal'), *a senhora* ('misses'), *o senhor* ('mister') and their plural forms *vocês*, *as senhoras*, *os senhores*. *Você* is the non-deferential or intimate form; *a senhora*, or *o senhor* is the deferential or not-intimate form. Ostermann conducted a study with data collected at two centers created to serve female victims of domestic violence. One setting is an all-female police station created specifically to process reports of domestic violence, while the other setting is a women's shelter for the same population. In her study she found that besides the fact that female police officers

⁷² The dichotomy T/V referred to address forms system was first proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960) to refer to pronouns existent in European languages where T refers to the second singular informal pronoun and the V form refers to the second person singular reverential pronoun. In Spanish, the T form is usually "tú" or "vos" and the V form is usually "usted". The historical development of the second person pronouns from Latin to Modern Spanish is explained in detail in Chapter 1.

⁷³ The research carried in the area of the studies of second person pronouns and their synchronic and diachronic studies has increased in the last years, but they are not as consistent over time as studies in other areas. That is why some of the studies considered here go back up to 10 years. Given the number of studies in the field, that can be considered "recent".

are not more sensitive to the reports of the victims than their male colleagues, police officers showed a consistent use of the pronoun *você*, the non-deferential, at the same frequency of use as *a senhora*. The office staff at the women's shelter, created by a feminist organization, showed a high rate of shift between the two pronouns. Representatives of feminist organizations tend to use more positive politeness strategies than female officers, and they exhibit a tendency to explore the flexibility of the pronoun system in Brazilian Portuguese. Shifting pronouns is the linguistic tool they can use to create alignments with the victims at the shelter. Female police officers, on the other hand, shifted to *a senhora* (V form) to reinforce the institutional alignment with the victim. They didn't use politeness strategies of any kind and tended to use more bald-on-record face threatening acts⁷⁴, clearly showing little or no effort in preserving the victim's face or in redressing FTAs.

Ostermann points out: "The discursive analysis of the interactional strategies involved in 2nd person pronouns reveals the strategic malleability of pronoun-switching as a contextualization device in Brazilian Portuguese. In particular, it shows that pronoun alternation may be used like any other contextualization cue to manipulate different aspects of the interaction" (Ostermann 2003: 374). The most important conclusion in Ostermann's study is that pronoun alternation is not used as a contextualization cue in the same way in the two settings under study and the type of alignments expressed through pronoun shift are different.

In a study of European Portuguese and based on the distinction between positive and negative face, Araújo classifies European Portuguese as a negative politeness language (according to Goffman's classification). According to Araújo, negative politeness is more particular to Western societies⁷⁵. This is based on cross cultural comparisons of politeness in different cultures and establishes that EP is a language that takes strongly into account factors such as gregarious relationships, consensus and tact (favored over confrontation, frankness or the protection of an individual's territory).

European Portuguese has many other-address forms (in addition to the personal pronouns) used with third person, or even without any pronoun or noun at all (null pronoun), in

⁷⁴ Direct imperatives are examples of bald-on-record face threatening acts. Bald-on-record FTA express S's intention to speak with maximum efficiency, for example, in situations of emergency or desperation. Brown and Levinson provide "Help!" or "Your pants are on fire!" as examples of bald-on-record FTAs (Brown and Levinson: 96).

⁷⁵ Negative politeness as referred to Western societies refer to acts such as apologizing, or being indirect. Apologizing or being indirect can constitute an FTA directed to the S's face and are acts that are preferred over confrontation, for example; they are typical of western societies.

which case the form of address is expressed through the morphology of the verb. European Portuguese does not follow Brown and Gilman's power/solidarity model. Certain V forms in Portuguese express familiarity. This is the case of *você* and other nominal forms of other-address. In other words, the V address forms in Portuguese range from [+ familiar] to [-familiar]. According to Araújo:

“The variety of address forms in European Portuguese which are in common everyday use allows differentiation along hierarchical lines (notably according to age, kinship, profession) and along the axis of familiarity/distance). The interpersonal relationship is played out along both axes: the vertical hierarchical and the horizontal axes of relative distance [sic]” (Araújo: 313-314)

Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese share the use of *você* as the pronoun to express familiarity, non-deferential meaning. Brazilian Portuguese differs from European Portuguese in having nominal address-forms to express the deferential meaning; the BP system displays shifting between the deferential and non-deferential forms whereas EP displays an address systems that goes along a spectrum that has familiarity at one end and non-familiarity at the other end.

Other studies of variation of the 2nd person address forms focus on the varieties of Spanish spoken in Nicaragua, Colombia and Honduras. The study by Rey (1994) concentrates on the use of the subject pronoun *usted* in three Latin-American countries. The study tries to determine how the different social structures of Colombia (highly industrialized), Honduras (agrarian economy) and Nicaragua (going through a transition period at the time of study) could impact differently the use of this pronoun.

For this study the researcher took into account many domains⁷⁶ and found that for many of the analyzed domains, the Colombian *usted* has a non-solidarity function with the effect of social distance (not formality)⁷⁷. Colombia shows the highest score for the use of *usted* in four of the five domains of interaction, but after tabulating all the scores, Rey finds that for all five domains the country with the highest rate of *ustedeo* is Honduras. According to Rey, this supports Solé's concept of “static” variation (1970) in an agrarian society that she explains in her

⁷⁶ The domains are: family, neighbors, workplace, street, party and social gathering.

⁷⁷ This use of *usted* has been reported in the cities of Cali and Medellín in Colombia (Millán: 2011)

article. Nicaragua, however, has the lowest *ustedeo* in four of the five domains of interaction and the lowest use of *usted* overall. Regarding the use of *usted* in Nicaragua, Rey points out:

“It appears that the greatest complexity, in terms of the specific factors and the direction of their effect on the variation, and the percentage differentials for the *ustedeo*, is found in a society in transition, Nicaragua. The “static” variation for this pronoun in an agrarian society is reflected in the higher overall *ustedeo* in Honduras. Finally, the more industrialized country in the present study, Colombia, has addressee factors influencing the *ustedeo* to a lesser degree (in terms of lower percentage differentials) than either Honduras or Nicaragua” (Rey: 202-203).

Another study, focused specifically in Honduran Spanish, was carried out by Castro-Mitchell in 1991. This study focuses on Honduran Ladino⁷⁸ Spanish. The Honduran pronominal system has 3 pronouns: *vos*, *tú* (used rarely in spoken language, but commonly in written) and *usted* for the singular and *ustedes* the only form used for the plural. Middle class and working class in Honduras alternate their use based on differences in the social situation, the setting, the kind of relationship between interlocutors, and the interlocutors’ age, gender, and socioeconomic status. Pronominal use is also based on “emotional” context that is established by the speaker’s attraction to or rejection of the listener. Other studies, Castro points out, have shown that temporary shifts in pronoun usage are often brought about by the emotional context of the speech event. Castro identifies two types of switching in Honduran Spanish: 1. a permanent shift, and 2. a temporary shift of pronouns.

Permanent shift of pronouns occurs when, for example, two people change from mutual *usted* to mutual *vos* when the relationship turns to be more intimate (or get married). According to Castro this permanent shift is a marker of the achievement of a socially more formalized relationship.

Temporary shifts are observed in several different types of situations involving different types of relationships, such as family encounters and conversations with friends. However, this

⁷⁸ In Central America, the term “ladino” has a different meaning than in the United States or in the reference to the Judeo-Spanish variety of Spanish. The term “ladino” refers to a ethnic group and not to a variety of a language. The term “ladino” is broadly used in Honduras, Guatemala and in the area of Chiapas, México to refer to the group of *mestizos* (of Spanish and indigenous origin) that do not identify themselves with indigenous groups and look for an identification that basically implies not belonging/identifying with indigenous affiliation Ladinos are the majority and are in position of power in these countries; their linguistic affiliation is Spanish and not indigenous languages (Based on: <http://www.everyculture.com/Middle-America-Caribbean/Ladinos-Orientaion.html>).

type of interaction is more common between intimate couples who have not yet undergone a permanent shift and seem to be motivated by both the social as well as the emotional context.

Castro-Mitchell's goals are to determine a general formulation of the pronominal system of address in Honduran Spanish, to examine the semantic value that each pronoun has within Honduran Spanish, to determine the conditions under which the alternation occurs. Her study also attempts to identify the social-psychological variables intervening in pronominal shifting, and to analyze the semantic value resulting from the shift of pronouns. Summarizing her study, Castro reports that, first, *tú*, *vos* and *usted* have several different semantic functions, some of which can vary according to the socioeconomic status and gender of the interlocutors. Second, there exist different norms for pronominal address for each of the two social classes analyzed: working class and middle class and there is a different set of rules of address forms for men and women. Third, the choice of pronouns in Honduran Spanish is influenced by several factors: a. social characteristics of the interlocutors (gender, age, education and socioeconomic status); b. the type of relationship existent between interlocutors (friendship, collegial, kinship); c. topic of conversation; d. relative social power of the interlocutors; e. the situation; f. the setting in which the interaction takes place and; g. the emotive/pragmatic meanings encoded in the pronouns. She explains:

“The choice of pronouns at any given moment is generally affected by a set of several of these above mentioned factors, making it difficult to isolate any single factor that would allow for more predictability in the norms of pronominal address. In addition, the linguistic factor of co-occurrence rules also contributes to determining the appropriateness of a given pronoun in the utterance of a given individual. In other words, co-occurrence rules constitute a linguistic constraint on pronominal address choice.” (Castro 235-236).

Castro's study provides an account about why the pronoun shifting takes place in Honduran Spanish. The shifting is triggered by pragmatic factors present in contexts in which the speaker expresses different emotional content. The speaker may change the pronouns to express very different emotions such as anger, rejection or love/tenderness. The speaker may also change the pronouns to alleviate the force of what has been said in the context of commands, insults or any type of offensive acts. This shift can also happen in contexts in which the speaker somehow needs to protect face (when negotiating or apologizing).

In the area of German and Baltic languages, there is a study comparing German and Swedish. The study by Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norby and Schuepbach (2006) explains the patterns of variation in German and Swedish based on data gathered through conversations with focus groups in Germany, Austria, Sweden, and Finland. Findings of this research show that German presents a broader pattern of variation than Swedish. German has today two coexistent systems, one with T, the other with V as the unmarked form, and speakers, whether individually or within social networks prefer one or the other. Swedish displays a universal T form, unmarked, with regional variation regarding Finland-Swedish, which presents some differences in the use of the V form '*ni*'. Some difference in the use of the address forms is observed in the medium, that is, the written forms. Email content is more informal, whereas formal letters exhibit the address choice with a tendency towards the V form. Regarding the broader variations in German (between East and West Germany), as well as the differences in patterns of use with Austrian German, they are explained in terms of historical factors. Differences between East and West Germany are explained within the framework of the political division before the reunification. Differences between Germany and Austria are explained regarding the historical development in the composition of both nations since the 18th century.

The case of modern Luxemburg shows how the influence of three different languages can influence and shape pragmatic rules. People of Luxemburg are more or less fluent in three languages (French, German, Luxemburgesisch), the rank of preference being first: French, second: Luxemburgesisch, and third: German. The people of Luxemburg know not just the languages, but their pragmatic rules. In Luxemburg it is possible to find uses of some expressions that show particular pragmatic rules that are the result of the mixture of linguistic elements of one language (French) with the pragmatic rules of another language. Kramer explains, "...all sorts of influences have amalgamated in this unique linguistic and cultural crossroads giving formulas which either do not exist elsewhere or else are used in pragmatically different ways" (Kramer 2005:64). Luxemburgesisch shows a phenomenon made possible by the historical confluence of three languages and historical conditions and shows how language contact can and does permeate pragmatic rules.

3.2 Diachronic studies

The approaches to diachronic studies have been done from different perspectives and with different types of data. In their introduction to their book on *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Form Systems*, Jucker and Taavitsainen (2003) make an important remark on the origin of historical pragmatics as a subfield in linguistics, which illustrate the type of studies gathered in this volume. It is considered relevant to mention what these remarks are since they guide the research done in pragmatics with a historical perspective. They also explain the use and validity of written data as source material for the historical pragmatics field. Among sources already used by other researchers (mainly in the European context) are letters (both official and private) and court records. Both Jucker and Taavitsainen agree on pointing out that both types (mainly the official ones) can be problematic regarding how faithfully they are to original speech or the speech of the community at that time due to scribal practices. Similar to this study, Bentivoglio (2002) uses family letters for her study of Spanish.

The problem that arises when working within the field of historical pragmatics is that it is impossible to establish general rules, since the usage of language always show variation (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003: 10). The authors explain: “For any given speech community there are differences for different situations of everyday life, and generalizations across society may be useful but at the same time they provide only approximations: the more the general statements about usage rules, the less precise they become. We should therefore content ourselves with investigations that describe and give part of the picture with a fairly high degree of precision”. (Jucker and Taavitsainen: 10). Jucker and Taavitsainen also address how politeness is understood regarding personal address forms and how polite they are in a given situation. Such levels of politeness can be assessed from two possible perspectives: 1. The connection between a given situation and the address form chosen in that context; 2. Understanding a specific address form as a way to signal a certain level of politeness (i.e. the address form chosen will establish the level of formality in a specific situation). Brown and Gilman (1972) and Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) tried to address these different scenarios through their categorization of power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1972) or through the distinction between polite and impolite behavior (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). One of the problems of the latter approach is that the distinction is given between polite and impolite behavior with no middle ground between

them, that is, there is no middle ground for utterances that are appropriate to a specific speech event, but that are neither polite nor rude.

In the study of politeness, a new approach given by Watts (2003) proposes that this unmarked field or middle ground can be defined or described as “political behavior”: a type of behavior between individuals that will keep their interaction free of conflict, within or outside a group, and will contribute to keep an ongoing state of equilibrium.

Jucker and Taavitsainen (2003) make some additional important observations regarding the concepts of norm, deviation and markedness. Regarding the concept of norm, they mention that personal address forms usages are typically described in terms of rules that speakers follow. Often times, however, the usages and different contexts are more complex than the general rules take into account, and therefore the special cases are marked as deviations, not taken into account or simply marked as special uses. No further attempts or explanations are made. According to Jucker and Taavitsainen, we should surrender to the fact that not all instances could be explained, either in a systematic way or as deviations from the norm. “In extreme cases, the amount of random variation may even obscure any “normal” usage. (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2003:13).

Deviations of the norm can be understood differently from a social point of view. If T is used when a V form is expected (or viceversa) that could be considered as a deviation from the norm. This is the perspective adopted by Stein, quoted by Jucker and Taavitsainen: “The norm in any address form can also be viewed as the unmarked usage pattern from which deviations have to be accounted for as marked usages that convey some special meaning.” (2003:13-14).

Some address form systems are more stable than others. Others address form systems are more flexible. This capacity of being flexible is called “retractability”. This term was coded by Mazzon on her study of the Canterbury tales (Mazzon 2000: 15, as quoted by Jucker and Taavitsainen 2003: 14) and Mazzon defines it as the possibility to shift from a T pronoun to a V pronoun and back to T pronoun in the same exchange and with the same person. A good example of this is the capacity to switch from a V form to a T in Modern Standard German with the same interlocutor within the same exchange (Hickey 2003: 401-423). The distinction between one address form system that allows this flexibility in switching T to V and viceversa is a retractable address form system; another system that does not allow the shifting between T and V in the

same exchange with the same person is a non retractable address form system; the difference between these two types is not very clear. In the case of German, since the shifting from *Sie* to *Du* is allowed in the same exchange and with the same person, it is possible to say that German has a retractable system⁷⁹. The question that follows then is: How to distinguish them? Those systems that are retractable can be explained in two ways: macropragmatically and micropragmatically. A macropragmatic analysis will take into account variables such as age, gender, social status, that is, by making reference to more permanent features. Using these factors, general rules or norms of address forms can be established. On the other hand, all systems must be always analyzed micropragmatically to give account of the specifics of each interaction (or general tendencies). In such analysis, context is always taken into account (to detect underlying principles of pronoun shifts). According to Jucker and Taatvitsainen, American Spanish is a retractable system whereas European Spanish it is not. As a result of historical evolution, American Spanish has varieties of Spanish in which speakers shift from T to V and viceversa in the same conversation (the case of Costa Rican Spanish, for example), whereas European Spanish, once the shift has been made from V to T, there is no possibility to change back to V, for that reason, European Spanish is considered not flexible, that is, a language without retractability.

Many authors (Stein for Elizabethan English, Hope for Early English, Hunt for Old French, and Mazzon (2002) have pointed out that pronoun shifts take place to mark or denote emotional and psychological states. These shifts are observed particularly in literary texts, in which the pronoun shift is used to mark moments of high psychological or emotional intensity. In summary, historical studies of the evolution of address forms in English have found that pronoun shifts have been historically motivated to adjust or manage emotional states.

Diachronic studies in Spanish Address Form have been carried out by Bentivoglio (2002), King (2006) and Castillo del Mathieu (1982).

⁷⁹ The fact that, in the case of the German, the shifting takes place between the pronoun T and the pronoun V, and the shifting occurs between pronouns makes the address form system to which the pronoun belong, a system with the capacity of being retractable, that is, to shift back and forth from one pronoun to the other.

3.2.1 Spanish Address Forms

Bentivoglio's research is based on Otte's corpus of private letters written by Andalusian immigrants in the New World to their relatives in Spain. According to Bentivoglio, "these letters constitute an exceptional corpus which allows the study of a vast repertoire of linguistic forms that may be considered representative of a semiformal variety of speech and, in spite of their written form, are the closest ever obtainable approximation to the variety of Spanish spoken by their authors (...) a perfect example of *parlato scritto* 'spoken written' (De Mauro 1970 as quoted by Bentivoglio 2002: 177)".

Bentivoglio analyzes a set of 52 private letters written by Andalusian immigrants living in the New World to their relatives in Spain in the second half of the 16 century. What is remarkable from this corpus is that the letters are private and intimate and lack the bureaucratic tone of the regular correspondence between the Old and the New World. Bentivoglio's analysis is based on Brown and Gilman's dichotomy of power and solidarity.

From the 52 letters analyzed, 23 show a consistent use of *vos*, 13 show a consistent use of *vuestra merced* and 16 show an alternation between *vos*, *tú*, *él-ella* and *vuestra merced*. Of particular interest for the purpose of this study are the letters that show variation. Bentivoglio subdivides these letters in two groups, according to the prevailing form of address: *vos* > *vuestra merced*, *él/ella* and *vuestra merced* > *él/ella*. The shifting in the pronouns (the alternation) is determined by pragmatic factors. According to Bentivoglio: "The alternation does not appear to be casual, but rather motivated by pragmatic factors, such as a shift on behalf of the writer from one style to another due to specific situations evoked by the content of the letter: i) from formal to more intimate [+ solidarity], ii) from familiar to more distant [- solidarity] and iii) from moderate to angry or contemptuous [- solidarity]" (Bentivoglio 2002: 182-183).

In her conclusions, Bentivoglio points out that *vos* is the address form preferred over *vuestra merced*. It is important to mention that Bentivoglio does not make clear if this *vos* is still the Peninsular *vos*, with the peninsular pragmatic value, or the American Spanish *vos*. It is assumed that it has the peninsular value. The conclusions of Bentivoglio's work regarding the usage of the pronouns and the shifting is that "*vos* is generally used for intimate and more familiar contexts, and *vuestra merced* for more formal requests, recommendations or even complaints. In some cases, though, the shift from *vuestra merced* to *vos* may convey an opposite

meaning, i.e. a change from a more detached to a less tolerant attitude on behalf of the writer” (Bentivoglio 2002: 188).

Bentivoglio’s study is focused on a very early period of the presence of Spanish in the New World, but already signals the tendency (or practice) of the shifting of the pronouns due to pragmatic reasons, which may be an indicator that variation and shifting of the pronouns in Spanish has been overlooked, that is, the perception of the shifting has escaped researchers’ attention.

Another study focused on the history of address forms in Spanish is the study carried out by King (doctoral dissertation, 2006) on the address forms of *tú*, *vos* and *Vuestra Merced* in Spanish in the 16th and the 17th centuries. The study provides a brief overview on address forms in Medieval Spanish and then focuses on patterns of use during the Golden Age based on variables such as gender, age, social relationship, power and socioeconomic class. It is of particular interest to point out that this study is based, in its majority, on literary texts such as *El Cantar del Mio Cid*, *La Celestina*, *Las Mocedades de Rodrigo* and *Roncesvalles* for Medieval Spanish. For Golden Age Spanish, it is based on Lope de Vega’s *pasos* and Cervantes’ *entremeses* and some Golden Age *comedias*. The goal of King is to demonstrate that Brown and Gilman’s theory does not offer a sufficient theoretical framework to explain Medieval and Golden Age address form patterns in Spanish. King uses eighteen works of popular Golden Age literature of three different literary genres (*pasos*, *entremeses* and *comedias*) as well as 100 letters as non literary testimony of the address forms used in Spanish society.

In general, King’s conclusions are quite similar to previous studies in the consideration of the use of *tú* and *Vuestra Merced*: *tú* was generally used with a certain level of intimacy or at least familiarity and *Vuestra Merced* to communicate a high level of respect and/or deference. In other aspects, his conclusions differ considerably from previous studies. *Vos* offers a more complex perspective within the address form system of the Golden Age, based on King’s perspective. According to King: “Our data have revealed repeatedly that the *vos* of the Golden Age enjoyed much of the same popularity of use that was commonplace in medieval Spain; it appears to be a ‘neutral’ form used in all contexts in which neither a high level of intimacy or formality was present” (King: 279).

Two other studies quoted by King, St. Clair Sloan and Moreno, present the pronoun *vos* as the unmarked or neutral form. King takes this conclusion one step further and states that *vos*

was the unmarked form between men. On the other hand, according to King's findings, the *tuteo* is more common between women. An interesting point in King's analysis is the pattern on rules of address between spouses. The literary corpus and the letters provide testimony of mutual *voseo* between spouses, both in public and private contexts. King explains that the mutual *vos* between spouses can be explained by taking into account the prevalent concept of marriage during the Golden Age: marriage was arranged, not a natural consequence of love, and marriages were arranged usually between people of the same social class. "Thus, the mutual *vos* we frequently find between husband and wife may likely be a sign of respect indicative of the level of intimacy present between many spouses in the Golden Age" (p. 267).

In King's data, *tú* and *vos* are found in very different contexts, King wonders from where the popular thought on *tú* and *vos* as competing forms came from, and the idea of why *tú* pushed *vos* into disuse in Spain. King points out "The fact that *tú* and *vos* coexist in several Latin American countries today, in many cases with similar usages to those seen in Golden Age Spanish, also leads us to believe that the competition between these two forms was not as strong as is generally believed" (p. 268). King hypothesizes that the disappearance of *vos* is more related to competition with the plural form *vosotros* with which it shared verbal and pronominal/object forms. For King, as well, the disuse of *vos* in Spain took place after the period of Golden Age.

A main aspect of King's conclusions is the finding that the more relevant tendency through the (primary) sources of the Golden Age is the notion of solidarity. Situations that involve power (such as interaction between judge and litigants, children and parent, between spouses) are considerably less than those of solidarity. King's findings disagree with Brown and Gilman's propositions that during the 19th century and before, the power semantic prevailed. "However, all our evidence consistently indicates that in the past century the solidarity semantic has gained supremacy [in European languages]". King's findings prove that the solidarity semantic power existed in Spain before the 19th century, and, even more, that the power semantic was standard in Golden Age Spain (similar results are found on Moreno's study, quoted by King).

With his findings, King demonstrates that the parameters given by Brown and Gilman about the initial introduction of the concept of solidarity requires a more accurate review based

not only on the evidence provided by one European language, namely Spanish, but also based on other studies of another Romance and European languages.

Castillo del Mathieu presents an account of address forms based on extracts of the Spanish chronicles written by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, González Fernández de Oviedo and other chroniclers. The focus of his article encompasses the middle and end of the 16th century and the 17th century. The article is presented in a series of quotes from the chronicles and comments about the use of the address forms present in those excerpts. The address forms analysis focuses on are the respect forms *vos* and *Vuestra Merced* and the familiar forms *tú* as well as *vos*.⁸⁰

The more pertinent aspect of this analysis is that the chronicles offer examples of pronoun shift between both *vos* and *vuestra merced*, and later on, between *vos* and *tú*. In Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's "Testimonio natural de Las Indias", Castillo del Mathieu finds evidence of the pronoun shift: "...mezcla indiscriminada de *vos* y *vuestra merced* aparecerá también en Bernal [del Castillo] casi en la misma época"[indiscriminate mix of *vos* and *vuestra merced* will appear also in Bernal [del Castillo] around the same period] (Castillo Matthieu: 609). Also, in this same work, the author reports mixing between the form *Vuestra Merced* with the pronominal forms of *os* and the verbal endings that correspond to the peninsular *vos* (that is, the ending of the plural *vosotros*). The author reports as well the mixed use of *Vuestra Merced* and *vos* in interactions with couples, but interestingly he does not find any use of *tú* (*tuteo*) between couples. The examples of pronoun address forms found by Castillo Matthieu in the writings of Bernal Diaz del Castillo show that during the first half of the 16th century, *vos* and *Vuestra Merced* still had the same value of respect, but the shift and mix between the form of *Vuestra Merced* with the verbal forms of the *vos* is also present.⁸¹

Castillo Matthieu also mentions the fact that *vos* loses its value of respect towards the end of 17th century in the following contexts: at home, between close friends or to humiliate someone in a deliberate way. Castillo Matthieu states that *vos* disappears in Spain but continues in different areas of the New World, where it survives "como un fósil vivo" ([as a living fossil]).⁸²

⁸⁰ It is important to mention that the *vos* that Castillo Matthieu takes into account is the peninsular *vos*, and not the "voseo americano", which displays a different verb form (ending).

⁸¹ The examples found by Castillo Matthieu are : voseo from superior to inferior and between equals (high and low class).

⁸² It is important to point out that Jeremias King in his dissertation (2006) finds that the *voseo* was still in use in Spain after that period (Golden Age) in Spanish literature.

In his conclusions about the personal address forms during the 16th and 17th centuries, Castillo Matthieu adds that at the beginning and middle of 16th century, *Vos* and *Vuestra Merced* were at the same level during this period. With the appearance of *Vuestra Merced* and the loss of the respect value on the pronoun *vos*, the *tú* is used just between members of low class, and points out that the use of *tú*, emphasizes scorn. Towards the end of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, *vos* loses ground vs. *Vuestra Merced*. In Bogotá, *vos* has a higher prevalence than *tú*, although there are testimonies of *criollos*, according to Castillo Matthieu, in which there is a simultaneous use of *vos* and *tú*.

Another study focused on address forms in letters written in the New World is the one written by García Mouton. As her material for analysis, she uses the 650 letters published by Enrique Otte. In her analysis, she divides her study according to the relationship between writer (speaker) and reader (listener), that is, between parents, siblings, nephews-nieces, brothers and sisters in law, father-mother in law, cousins, children and women. In the letters addressed to parents, the more frequent address form used is *Vuestra Merced*, in a very consistent way. Between siblings, the more frequent form is *Vuestra Merced* as well, followed by *vos*. Although, not very frequent, there are letters that show the two forms alternating. Nephews and nieces vary the address form used with them, depending on their previous familiarity. When there has been a previous relationship, *vos* is used, otherwise, *vuestra merced* is used. The same tendency holds for sisters and brothers, and parents in law. Likewise, only between close cousins *vos* is used. When parents write letters to their children, the prevalent form used is *tú*, although some mixed uses of *tú* and *vos*, and of *tú* with *él* are reported.

Letters written by husbands to their wives are the more frequent type of letter found in Otte's collection, with a prevalence of the use of *vos* above *tú*, but some pronoun shift is also found in these letters between spouses, and pronoun shift between *vos* and *vuestra merced*. As García Mouton points out “*vos* era pues, el trato para el afecto más cercano acompañado de toda variedad de fórmulas cariñosas” (‘ *vos* was the closest address form together with all types of caring expressions ’; García Mouton 1999: 273).

As a conclusion, García Mouton (274) findings demonstrate that the sociolinguistic situation both in America and Spain for the second half of the 16th century was one in which each pronoun had a strict correlation with a specific meaning (as seen in the level or written

language in personal correspondence): respect expressed by *vuestra merced*, closeness by *vos* and inferiority with *tú*.

3.2.2 Germanic languages

An interesting historical study compares two different stages in the evolution of the address form system in German: the address forms system in Middle High German (MHG) and the address form system in Modern Standard German (MSG). Historically, MHG used two pronouns in second person, *DU* as the second person singular pronoun and *IR*, which was originally a second person plural pronoun used to address one single speaker through the use of a pragmatic rule. In MSG there are two pronouns in second person as well: *DU* for the second person singular and *SIE*, which is the polite form expressing through semantics, “respect”, which, according to Simon, is a grammaticalised form⁸³. The transition from MHG to MSG involved a sequence of several systems. The basic pronoun *DU* comes from Common Germanic. Over the course of time, several additional pronouns entered the system, each of them more polite than the previous one, but not supplanting any of the earlier pronouns. The inventory expanded and eventually the intermediate forms disappeared and only the pronouns at the extreme ends of the scale remained: basic *DU* and polite *SIE*. Simon shows that the inclusion of the newer pronouns followed a zigzag path to the current usage in MSG (through this process the concept of respect became grammaticalised).

The use of *IR* (2nd person plural) to address one addressee comes from as early as the 9th century. Research literature in German (and in other languages) shows that there are temporary shifts from one pronoun to the other, some “Mischstil” [mixed style]. At the literary level, this is understood as due to a change in literary conventions, or to a “momentary shift of mood” and often it can be induced between particular types of speech acts.

Moreover, the pronoun variation in MHG exists in different manuscripts representing the same narrative. As Simon points out, “I take this manuscript variation to be evidence for a view that analyses Middle High German pronouns of address solely in terms of pragmatics...” (Simon 2003: 89).

⁸³This because it relates to a different personal pronoun that comes from the 3rd person plural pronoun. It is grammaticalised because the pronoun has acquired the semantic meaning of respect.

According to Simon's analysis, the variation between three different versions of a section of the *Nibelungenlied* ⁸⁴ does not show a consistent pattern. They differ, but not in a consistent way. That there are three versions of the *Nibelungenlied* (roughly contemporary and dialectally similar), implies that none of the manuscripts were manipulated. The variation then, shows "the fact that each scribe had a certain freedom to use one or the other address forms in his text. "The forms were –at least to a certain extent- interchangeable" (2003: 93). For Simon the fact that the distinction between *du* and *ir* was not clear cut and subject to manipulation by the speakers shows that the system was subject to a pragmatic system (in contrast to a grammatical one). The reason to pragmatically apply a plural pronoun to address a single speaker is also explained by Simon taking into account the Brown and Levinson politeness strategies (through conventional and conversational implicatures) and through Listen's (1999) approach of metaphor.

In conclusion, the dichotomy of *du-ir* in MHG in reference to a single addressee is explained through the somewhat optional application of politeness strategies, that is, through pragmatics. Simon explains intermediate steps in the construction of the address forms system in German. **One of those intermediate steps is the appearance of the third person pronoun in a addressee-deictic function.** From the 17th century onwards, a third person without an antecedent can be found, which signals that the pronoun has acquired strong deictic force. The next step was the introduction of the pronoun *SIE* in the system, which is the source of the polite form in MSG, it is traditionally seen as third person plural: "*Sie* enters the system by a path similar to that of the singular forms: via anaphora after nominal terms, although now this process happens in regard to nominal abstractions like (Euer) Majestät" (Simon 2003: 96)

Simon establishes in his analysis an important classification regarding the grammatical status of the semantic notion of respect. Simon points out that any grammatical categories should at least meet the following criteria:

1. They should be obligatory in the language (specific) domain.
2. They are paradigmatically organized.

⁸⁴ The *Nibelungenlied* or the *Song of the Nibelungs* is medieval German epic poem that tells the story of a dragon-slayer named Siegfried, how he was murdered and the revenge of his wife. The poem exists in three different manuscripts and it is based on oral traditions and reports that date back to 5th and 6th centuries.

3. The “meaning” of grammatical categories is relatively abstract, it cannot be reduced to referential properties.

Simon points out the parallel existent between the grammatical category of person (and its representation of deixis and tense/aspect) and the category of respect as the grammatical representation of politeness.

Simon finds syntactic evidence to prove that the polite *Sie* has different grammatical constraints than the *sie* (as third person plural) and that the polite *Sie* is not an application of the third person plural plus a pragmatic rule, but that *Sie* is, on its own, a separate pronoun that should be allotted a place on the address forms system next to *Du*. He explains:

“Diachronically the former may be derived from the latter, but synchronically the two pronouns differ in their syntactic properties: *Sie* behaves like a second person pronoun, even if it does not look like one. Taking this observation seriously, one has to say that *Sie* (as well its case variants, of course) should be allotted a place of its own in the paradigm of personal pronouns. Thus it comes to stand next to *du*. The category that differentiates between *Sie* and *du* is then the category of “respect”” (Simon 2003:103).

For Simon, important differences between MHG and MSG can be pointed out. One of the more important conclusions is that in MHG, *du* and *ir* are not clearly differentiated in their use, pronoun shifts happen regularly and the system of MHG allowed speakers to shift back. “In contrast, speakers of Modern Standard German do not shift easily, and most importantly, they never shift back” (Simon: 105) Changes from *Sie* to *du* do happen but once it is done, it is not reversed (Simon:105).

Simon, finally, addresses how the distinction between *Sie* and *sie* can be made in the Bavarian dialect. In Bavarian, same as in MSG, the distinction between *Sie* and *sie* exists at the syntactic level. The only difference is that in Bavarian the polite *Sie* presents a differentiated surface form, whereas MSG *Sie* does not. ‘The “secondary” category of respect came into being through the metaphorical use of the ‘primary’ categories of person and number. Respect formation depends strictly on the categories of person and number. Only later does the category develop forms of its own. This is the process that has taken place in the case of the Bavarian dialect. (Simon: 110).

The address form system in English is probably one of the best studied and described, due, in part, to the fact that significant and important documentation has been preserved from very early on. There are many studies focused on the personal and address forms in medieval English (or, as it is often referred, Shakespearean English). There are two studies in particular that focused on correspondence (letters) from the 15th to the 17th centuries. Nevala (2002) and Mazzon (2002). One of these studies is the article focused on address and subscription formulae in English family correspondence from the 15th to the 17th centuries (Nevala: 2002). Nevala's corpus is constituted by family letters (letters written between spouses, parents to their children and viceversa, or siblings to each other). The focus of the analysis is the address formulae, that is, the salutations, and the subscription formulae, that is, the expressions to close the letters. Through her analysis, and taking as a starting point Brown and Levinson's concepts of positive and negative politeness, the goal of Nivala's study is to determine if there is any increase of positive politeness over negative politeness in address forms and subscription formulae over the course of time. One of her research questions is: Do family members with relatively more power present more positive politeness? Her other interest lies in the social dimension. Her corpus allows her to analyze letters written by gentry and merchants and letters written by the royalty. "Medieval letters had emphasized the distance and power differences between superior and inferior within the family. The reformationist ideology, on the other hand, particularly encouraged spouses to use more intimate and affectionate style in their private correspondence, as well in speech" (Nivala: 150).

From Brown and Levinson's variables, Nivala applies the concepts of distance and relative power, variables governed as well by social factors. Distance correlates from a very close relation to a possibly very distant relationship. Relative power refers to the degree in which an individual can impose plans or expectations at the expense of other people (as quoted in Holmes). Power here is examined in terms of power inside the family or between the members of a family. Relative power is more significant than social distance. A relation may be close between members of a family but not equal in power. Nivala summarizes the characteristics of the nuclear family in medieval and renaissance England. The families were ruled by the father/husband who ultimately held total control over the family and women and children were subject to his authority, but in more private settings, they used more intimate and affectionate forms. Positive politeness means emphasizing what people have in common by minimizing the

distance between them. Negative politeness means to avoid the invasion of one's privacy by increasing the distance between the speaker and the hearer.

According to Nivala, husbands and parents (with more power) are more likely to use positive politeness, wives and children, inferior in power, are more likely to use negative politeness towards a superior. As Nivala points out, "in general, high power tends to attract deferential behavior" (Nivala: 152). Regarding power Nirvala mentions: "Power is then based on the assumption that, for example, social groups, social classes and social roles in general are identified as regulating how a person fits into society as a member and as a functional human being" (Nirvala: 152). In order to classify the address and subscription formulae, Nirvala establishes a scale, from positive to neutral to negative politeness by using linguistic categories or classifications (term of endearment, nickname to neutral terms such as a kinship term to a negative term such as status name + last name, Mr. Thyme).

Nirvala's analysis effectively proves that there is an increase in positive politeness over the course of time between family members of upper rank classes (gentry), and Nirvala demonstrates as well that differences in internal power relations affect the choice of opening and closing formulae.

Another study within the realm of Shakespearian work is conducted by Mazzon (2002). In this study, she analyzes pronouns, and marginally, nominal address as markers of socio-affective relationships between different characters portrayed in *King Lear*, *Othello* and *Hamlet*. Pronoun switched operations were analyzed and taken into account. "Nominal address, and contextual and situation variables, were also taken into account, which made it possible to venture hypotheses about "normal" or unmarked uses (...) and to motivate switches as deviations triggered by changes in style, in emotional state or in socio-pragmatic attitude." (Mazzon: 223).

The focus of Mazzon's study is to examine the phenomenon of "pronoun switching".⁸⁵ The address form system in English is a system that has undergone a process of shrinking. Old English and Early Middle English had the following address form system:

⁸⁵ As Mazzon points out, Honegger (in the same volume) considers the expression "pronoun switching" too generic and unsystematic.

Address form	Singular	Plural
Informal	Thou	Ye
Formal	Thee	You

Table 3.1 Address form system in Old English/Early Middle English (Mazzon: 224)

According to Mazzon, occurrences of *you* to address a single interlocutor can be found already during the 13th century “but exclusive use of *you* soon became predominant, thus leading to the second important systemic change: the contrast between polite and intimate forms is excluded from the standard, and only one pronoun form is left”. (Mazzon: 224).⁸⁶

In regard previous research, Mazzon makes a special remark to the fact that in previous studies on Shakespearian English, researchers have been confronted with the variation or alternation of use with the same interlocutor, “a phenomenon which seems to be more frequent in literary samples, because it contributes to portraying interaction between characters...” (Mazzon: 225). Mazzon quotes various studies that have dealt with pronominal variation to emphasize that many reasons have been used to explain the variation: affective attitude, euphony, constraints posed by the verbs or specific constructions the pronouns can co-occur with or co-variation with nominal address, of particular interest for her study.

Mazzon points out some conflicts of Brown and Gilman’s theory regarding this variation. One is that, according to Brown and Gilman, politeness arises only when a speech act constitutes a FTA and some languages have proved to have, for example, systems of honorifics, with pronouns that have to be used in any speech act (and not just in speech acts that potentially can be FTA). The other inconsistency with Brown and Gilman’s theory is that if it is true that they take into account the variable of social distance, and particularly the affective element, they don’t establish any connection between this variable and pronoun alternation (Mazzon: 227)

From Mazzon’s perspective, she considers pronoun uses and switches as acts of volition that are a choice made by the speaker of specific verbal forms with specific communicative and pragmatic goals in mind. The types of relationships or interactions examined by Mazzon of Shakespeare’s characters, includes interactions between spouses, parent-child (son and daughter), and other family relationships like the in-laws and relatives. She examines as well, “official” relationships: superior-subordinate relationships, servant-master relationships and peer relationships (people with more or less the same social standing). Mazzon points out as well the

⁸⁶ The other important systemic change was the loss of the distinction between singular and plural.

relevance of social changes and their impact on social roles and the way those social changes are expressed at language level: “The state of flux of Elizabethan society creates the need for continual reassurance about reciprocal standing, and thus encourages the use of multiple, varied and rather specific nominal address, including kin terms (...) and occupational terms” (Mazzon: 240).

In summary, the study of Mazzon demonstrates that pronominal switch is related not only to variables related to affective factor, but that **pronoun switch is related to a politeness phenomenon**. Factors such as discourse turn points and specific speech acts, relevance of the context and the discernment-volition dichotomy proved to be useful to explain such pronoun alternations in Shakespeare’s dramas.

Another study in English is the study by Walker, where he takes into account dialogues (factual or reconstructed) of speech acts.. His study focuses on the use of *you* and *thou* in various types of texts from 1560-1600 and 1680-1720, with particular focus and differences on usage between male and female speakers.⁸⁷

The aim of the study is to compare the pronouns *you* and *thou* in the type of dialogues specified and show the change in pronouns across time. A second goal is to study the role of gender in the selection of the second person pronoun. An important methodological remark made by Walker is the fact that, regarding the use of *thou* and the three meanings that *thou* could express (to express emotion, expressive *thou*, to show the speaker’s superior status, or a sign of solidarity among lower ranks) was difficult to determine and quantify: “Thus discussion of **how** the pronouns are used is of a qualitative nature, based on a close reading of the corpus texts” (Walker: 313).

In trials, Walker finds a higher frequency of *thou* forms than *you* forms. Regarding the depositions, there is, apparently, a decline in the use of *thou*, but Walker doesn’t find conclusive evidence for that. In comedy, the use of *thou* is to express mutual intimacy or affection, or, also, contempt or scorn, there is a high ratio on the use of *thou* to *you* (16.9%). In the handbooks (a special type of text due to its didactical purpose), the use of *thou* depends on whether there is a difference between speakers in terms of social rank or gender.

⁸⁷ Walker uses trials and depositions, text that supposedly record authentic dialogues and handbooks and comedy dramas, which include constructed dialogues. His material proceeded from the Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760, at Uppsala University.

Summarizing, Walker points out: “There are certain formulaic uses of *thou* found in the authentic dialogue texts, which do not occur in the constructed dialogues. In general, *thou* occurs more in the witness depositions and the drama comedies, where the expressive use is relatively common, moreover, in the first period, these two type of texts also include examples of reciprocal *thou* being used among the lower ranks. In contrast, the text type trials and handbooks tend to have a lower ratio of *thou* to *you* is perhaps most commonly used to express the speaker’s social superiority (also found in the other type of texts). However, trials also contain expressive *thou* to show contempt. In all text types, especially regarding the non-emotional uses of the pronoun, *thou* tends to be less frequent in the second period” (Walker: 324).

Regarding gender and how it influenced the choice of pronoun, women seem to prefer *you* over *thou* more than men do. Data given by Walker seem to indicate that *you* was the neutral form, while *thou* was disappearing towards the end of the seventeenth century. While studying the motivations behind the selection of the pronoun used, Walker finds that the ratio of *thou* to *you* in trial texts is the result of the difference of the rank between speaker and addressee, and not due to differences in gender (in this type of text, trials).

In the deposition texts, men use *thou* more than women, regardless of the gender of the addressee, but the reverse holds true for women. The depositions of the second period offer little evidence of gender difference. “*You* is clearly the reciprocal pronoun amongst members of all but the lowest ranks, except when expressing anger. The fact that men use more *thou* forms than women do seems to be explained by women using more *you* in angry exchanges, especially to other women, than men do...” (Walker: 332).

In the drama type texts, Walkers finds proof that *thou* is often used to “address” another who is absent or out of hearing (same result reported by Stein, in the same volume) and this use of *thou* accounts for all the uses of *thou* between women addressing women. When speaking face to face, women address each other with *you*. In the second period, all speakers show a preference for the use of *you*, even in intimate exchanges. Men and women show contempt to each other with *thou*, same as men do with other men, and upper ranks use *thou* to express male camaraderie, and men use *thou* to express dominance over women, who use *you* in return. Walker points out that these uses are somehow shaped and influenced by purposes of the author.

In the handbooks texts, the only difference in pronoun usage is the husband giving *thou* to the wife but receiving *you*, which, Walker points out, can be that way due to the

prescriptiveness of the handbook (about perfect marriage), “although containing male and female speakers of a range of ranks clearly prescribe *you* as the form to be used” (Walker: 338).

Pronoun	Trial	Deposition	Comedy/Dramas	Handbooks
Thou	Express negative	Expressive use	Expressive use	Limited use of thou
	To show social superiority	Reciprocal thou among speakers of lower ranks	Reciprocal thou among speaker of lower ranks	
	Formulaic use	To show social superiority	To show social superiority	
		Formulaic use		

Table 3.2: Uses of *thou*.(Based on Walker: 2002)

Through the different types of texts the expressive *thou* is the one more consistently used.

Regarding gender, Walker concludes that *you* is the form preferred by both genders. He detects a decrease in the use of *thou*, by women, in the second period under study. Men use *thou* to show in-group membership (male camaraderie), while women do not. Both male and female speakers use reciprocal *you* in both periods. According to Walker’s reading of his data, “women were more sensitive to the implications of *thou* and chose the “safer” pronoun, supported perhaps by their using *you* in anger more than do men. Otherwise there is no real evidence to support that women were promoting the spread of reciprocal *you*” (Walker: 340). Another aspect to take into account, also mentioned by Walker is that the high percentage of *thou* used by men found in the texts could be caused by the fact that men are better represented in the corpus, “giving more opportunities for variation in pronoun usage” (Walker: 340).

Through his study, Walker tries to define pronoun usage in less general terms, using social variables with the support of historical pragmatics, socio-historical linguistics and variationist theory.

3.3 Final words on address form systems

The variation and shift of second person pronouns has been present in many languages, not just in Spanish, which seems to reflect a general tendency, mainly in western hemisphere societies. The summarized studies tend to relate the shift in the use of the pronouns with feelings or their expression and, also, with politeness strategies. Some studies have found cases in which

the V form is unmarked. Regarding diachronic studies in Spanish, these studies also have shown that variation and shift have been present in the history of Spanish for quite some time, an aspect that has been not sufficiently emphasized in Hispanic studies. This lack of emphasis is particularly salient in the studies of Spanish in the Central American region, area in which as it has been described, there are dialects that display shift in the use of the pronouns. The few studies available are more synchronic in nature than diachronic. The next chapter describes the methodology employed and the perspectives undertaken to carry out a diachronic analysis of pronouns in Costa Rican Spanish, from the 16th century to the first half of the 20th century.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.0. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to track the historical evolution of the second person address pronouns in Costa Rican Spanish, between the 16th century and the 20th century. With that purpose in mind, and given the nature of the use of these address forms, one may question how it is possible to study those uses in a historical context ranging from the 16th century to the first decades of the 20th century. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the materials that make possible a study with that historical perspective are written records. Among them, the sources that best allow an insight into how people addressed each other in previous periods are letters.

Given the nature of this dissertation, the first consistent description of address forms in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish, the study will use letters, excerpts from manuscripts and family letters in the more recent periods as the source material. The study uses primarily descriptive and quantitative analyses; quantitative analyses are used when necessary. The theories of semantic change, politeness theory and sociolinguistic variation are taken into account.

4.1 Materials

The letters include personal and public (official) writings where the two individuals involved were friends, relatives, or acquaintances. In no case are the writers unknown to each other. This was crucial to study the use of the address pronouns in specific contexts (e.g. intimacy).

The materials used for this study come from various resources, but all of them are, in one way or the other, manuscripts or documents written from the 16th century on, found in archives, anthologies, specialized publications, and history journals. Parts of trials or manuscripts in which the testimony of the witnesses in trials reproduce dialogs or interchange of information in which personal address interaction is present, are also included. Given the fact that address forms belong to the area of morphology, many publications such as economical or sociological history can be used for research purposes. As pointed out above, the study contains personal or family letters, public letters where the two individuals involved were friends or acquaintances or parts of documents in which personal interaction was specially sought out.

The collecting of letters for this study has been extremely difficult. Despite the important collections of manuscripts and materials available in Costa Rican Archives, surviving historical letters written between family members are very rare and hard to find. While there is an abundance of official letters available, letters of personal character are much more difficult to find. The oldest family letter that is included in this study is from the year 1717. The first letters, more administrative in character, are from the 16th century, starting in 1563. Many factors explain the scarcity of these letters. Lack of tradition in conserving documents of private character, and mainly, the lack of preservation of personal letters by their owners is probably the main reason. Additionally, minimal or total lack of any clear preservation policy and/or lack of interest in maintaining Costa Rican archives in national public libraries regarding what should be preserved has contributed to the demise of many older documents (for instance, the recycling process of books edited in the 19th century that were stored at the National Library in San Jose). Another factor that has affected the conservation of letters (and all documents in Costa Rican archives for that matter) has been the semi-tropical climate. The high level of humidity to which the documents have been exposed for very long periods before they could be preserved appropriately has greatly degraded Costa Rican documents.⁸⁸

As a consequence, the letters and manuscripts analyzed in this dissertation were found in specialized publications, such as, Costa Rican archives, *El Archivo General de Indias* located in Sevilla, Spain (The General Archives of Indies, consulted electronically), and letters facilitated by family members and/or researchers. The list of letters and excerpts used in this study are 49 in total and they appear in Table 4.1.

⁸⁸ The *Costa Rican National Archive* or *Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica* was founded in year 1881 by León Fernández. The professionalization of the Archives came about recently, in 1969, when with the support of the OEA and UNESCO; staff members of the Archive were sent to Spain and Argentina to learn “Archivística” and trained people in the preservation of documents. It was not until 1993 that the *Costa Rican National Archive* was established in a specific, purpose-built building (before that it was located in different buildings). The other significant archive in Costa Rica is under the custody of the Catholic Church, *Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana*. Nowadays, *Costa Rican National Archive* is, together with the *Archivo General de Centro América* in Guatemala, the more up to date archives in the Central American area.

16th Century

Letters of	Collected by	Reference
3 letters by Juan Vázquez de Coronado	Ricardo Fernández Guardia	Imprenta de la Vda. De Luis Tasso. Barcelona, 1908
1 letter from Diego de Artieda to Don Francisco Céspedes	León Fernández Guardia	Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica. 1882-1907. Imprenta Nacional. Costa Rica.

17th Century

Letters of	Collected by	Reference
7 letters of priests and members of local governments	León Fernández Guardia	Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica. 1882-1907. Imprenta Nacional. Costa Rica

18th Century

Letters of	Collected by	Reference
2 letters from Diego Velázquez de Montiel Coronado	Munia Cabal-Jiménez	Archivo General de Indias en Sevilla, via PARES (Portal de Archivos Españoles, online)
1 letters of a priest	León Fernández Guardia	Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica. 1882-1907. Imprenta Nacional. Costa Rica

19th Century

Letter of	Collected by	Reference
Four letters of members of the Bonilla Family	Miguel Ángel Quesada Pacheco	Fuentes documentales para el estudio del español colonial de Costa Rica. Editorial Alma Mater 1987.
Three letters of Juan Rafael Mora		Junta Patriótica pro Juan Rafael Mora. 1915. San José, Costa Rica. Imprenta Nacional.
1 letter of José María Cañas	Enrique Gutiérrez	Revista <i>Abra</i> . Año 1. No. 1. Magazine of the College of Humanities (Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales). Editorial de la Universidad Nacional. Heredia, Costa Rica. 1980.
1 letter from Costa Rican writer Manuel González Zeledón to María Isabel Carvajal, also writer	Eugenio García	Private collection.
2 letters of Costa Rican authors Fernández Guardia and Carlos Gagini	Alberto Segura	La polémica (1894-1902): El Nacionalismo en Literatura. Editorial de la Universidad Estatal a distancia. San José, Costa Rica. 1995.

Table 4.1 List of writings included in the study

20th century

Letter of	Collected by	Reference
3 letters from Costa Rican writers	Eugenio García	Private collection.
1 letter of Costa Rican author Manuel Antonio González	Alberto Segura	La polémica (1894-1902): El Nacionalismo en Literatura. Editorial de la Universidad Estatal a distancia. San José, Costa Rica. 1995.
1 Letter from Antonio Arce	Elizet Payne Iglesias	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica. Alcaldía de Santo Domingo de Heredia No. 8. Matter: Kidnapping, Year 1934. Folio 49 a 49v

Table 4.1, cont. List of writings included in the study

The study also includes 19 excerpts in total, collected from various manuscripts.

The letters provided by Eugenio García that were collected from the private correspondence of Joaquín García Monge, include correspondence with and between the Costa Rican literary authors Joaquín García, Monge⁸⁹, Manuel Antonio González (Magón)⁹⁰ and María Isabel Carvajal also known as Carmen Lyra, the first prominent female Costa Rican writer⁹¹.

The letters collected and published by Alberto Montero Segura refer to the debate of nationalism in Costa Rican literature that took place between 1894 and 1902, between outstanding Costa Rican writers. The authors that participated sustained this debate through published correspondence in newspapers.

Not all letters display covariation. Only the letters that display covariation will be used as examples in the qualitative analysis presented in the Analysis chapter. The next chart specifies which letters and excerpts show covariation:

⁸⁹ Joaquín García Monge is considered one of the more prominent authors in Costa Rica from the first part of the 20th century. He was an outstanding educator who studied in Chile and also was director of the Costa Rican National Public Library. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joaqu%C3%ADn_Garc%C3%ADa_Monge). García Monge was also the Director of the Cultural Magazine *Repertorio Americano*, which has been considered one of the more important cultural publications during the first decades of the 20th century in Latin America until its disappearance in 1958. *Repertorio Americano* was published continuously from 1919 to 1958. Works from Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda, José Vasconcelos, Teresa de la Parra and Alfonso Reyes were published in this magazine and, among outstanding Costa Rican intellectuals, Carlos Gagini, first Costa Rican linguist.

⁹⁰ Manuel González Zeledón is also a well known figure of the first part of the 20th century. Although he was not a prolific writer, he played an important role as a journalist and was also the Costa Rican Ambassador to the United States, a position he held from 1932 until his death in 1936. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_Gonz%C3%A1lez_Zeled%C3%B3n).

⁹¹ María Isabel Carvajal (Carmen Lyra) was also a politically involved leader, an educator (at elementary school level and at community level with El Centro de Estudios Germinal) and founded the first Montessori School in Latin-America in 1926. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carmen_Lyra).

Letter	Year	Reference
Letter from José Antonio Bonilla to his brother Santiago Bonilla	1811	Fuentes documentales para el estudio del español colonial de Costa Rica. Editorial Alma Mater 1987.
Letter from Miguel Bonilla to his sister Juana Bonilla	1812	Fuentes documentales para el estudio del español colonial de Costa Rica. Editorial Alma Mater 1987.
Letter from Hipólito Calvo to Carmen (male name)	1813	Fuentes documentales para el estudio del español colonial de Costa Rica. Editorial Alma Mater 1987.
Letter from Maria Bolibar to her son Miguel Bonilla	1818	Fuentes documentales para el estudio del español colonial de Costa Rica. Editorial Alma Mater 1987.

Table 4.2 Letters that display covariation

Excerpt	Year	Reference
Argument between neighbors	1801	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica. Serie Complementario Colonial 2209, fos. 2 y 3
A dialogue between neighbors	1793	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica. Serie Complementario Colonial 1005, fo. 9.
Dialogue between female friends	1775	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica. Serie Complementario Colonial
Excerpt from a letter between two brothers	1782	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica. Protocolos de Guatemala 158; fo. 11
Argument between an aunt and a niece	1774	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica . Serie Complementario Colonial 0342; fo. 3.
Dialogue between a captain and a soldier	1891	Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica. Serie Guerra y Marina. 9836; fos. 14-16.

Table 4.3 Excerpts that display variation

In a research of this type it is necessary to offer support on why letters and written resources are a valid source of materials in a (historical) linguistic study. Some authors have already worked in this line of research, among them, Romaine (1982) , Ayres-Bennet (2004), Bergs (2005), Poplack (2007) and in the sphere of Hispanic Linguistics, Donald Tuten (2003), Annamaría Escobar (2010, 2008, 2007, 2006, 2001) and specifically in the study of address forms and pronouns in Spanish, Bentivoglio (2002), García-Mouton (1999), and M. A. Quesada (1990, 2005) .

Specifically, Suzanne Romaine (1982) has supported the use of this type of material from a theoretical perspective.

Regarding the study of linguistic phenomena, combining the historical perspective with a variationist one, Ayres Bennet (2004) and Bergs (2005), with a social network perspective, have also dedicated some research to this topic. Ayres Bennet points out that sociolinguistic studies describe variation in current varieties and that, based on that, “one can hypothesize that written language as evidenced in texts also varies in a patterned way” (Ayres-Bennet 2004:2).

In modern studies of variation, the different types of variation considered are **diatopic**, **diastratic** and **diafasic** (cf. Coseriu 1981), in addition to the historical. To those forms of variation, Ayres-Bennett adds the “medium”, with the variation and difference existent between written and spoken codes. Bergs also points to the different character of the data in historical sociolinguistics and synchronic sociolinguistics. In synchronic sociolinguistics it is possible to design and willingly expand or modify the data available in the study, go back to the informants and confirm results or also modify them. In historical sociolinguistics that option is not available and sociolinguists working on the field of diachronic sociolinguistics cannot ask informants for confirmation or endlessly expand their data. (Bergs 2005: 13). Labov also refers to this aspect of the historical sociolinguistics work:

“Historical linguistics can then be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data. The art is a highly developed one, but there are some limitations of the data that cannot be compensated for” (Labov 1994: 11).

Historical linguistics only relies on the data that is found in the documents that it uses. Sociolinguistic studies of modern data can make use of experiments and native speaker intuition to explore variation and grammaticality (Bergs 2005:14). In oral data, the level of consciousness of what is said is minimal. In written data, it is argued that the level of consciousness is higher (Bergs 2005: 19). Instead of a written vernacular, Bergs prefers to talk of a “more or less self-conscious style” (Bergs 2005:20).

In the historical study of Spanish address forms, García-Mouton has offered arguments regarding the validity of using letters as the source material in this type of study. She considers that while letter writing is a one way interaction, it can include passages where the writer expresses more emotive passages, such as arguments or fights between interlocutors (García-Mouton 1999: 264).

The present dissertation contributes to this trend of research based on written resources as a window to previous stages of the language and justifies the selection of personal letters as a way to study address forms from a historical perspective.

Regarding the letters and documents gathered over a period of one and a half years, a total of forty nine (49) written sources are used. These are letters between family members, friends and acquaintances, including official letters between “colleagues”, that is, letters written from a Captain to his soldier. Excerpts from manuscripts in which the interaction between speaker/writer and hearer/reader is present, were slightly easier to find, but not frequent either. The distribution of the written sources can be seen in the table 4.2.

	16 th century	17 th century	18 th century	19 th century	20 th century
Letters	4	7	3	11	5
Documents/manuscripts	1	2	13	3	-
TOTAL	5	9	16	14	5

Table 4.4 Letters included in the study by century

The methodology used in this dissertation follows Ayres-Bennet’s study, which is also based on Romaine (1982) with the understanding that, in the same way as sociolinguistics looks at language variation in current stages of the language, the same pattern of variation can be found at written level and therefore, be the subject of study in the realm of sociohistorical linguistics (Ayres-Bennet 2004: 2).

4.2 Analysis

For the analysis, a series of social factors are considered. However, the historical period is the most relevant factor. It must be clarified that aspects of the quantitative sociolinguistic model cannot be considered in a socio-historical study. Moreover, the understanding of the selection of a representative sample needs to be modified, considering that a historical sociolinguistic study needs to rely on only what is available (cf. Ayres-Bennet 2004: 5).

The analysis in a socio-historical linguistic study can be based on a quantitative or a qualitative technique. This aspect of the analysis is also addressed by previous research (cf. Ayres Bennet 2004; Schneider 2002). In modern sociolinguistic studies, the analysis of the data tends to be of a quantitative character, using statistical techniques and/or statistical software packages. Similar techniques are used in socio-historical studies which are based on large corpora. This dissertation, however, studies expressions whose meaning is tightly connected to the interaction between the writer/speaker and the reader/hearer. For this reason, a qualitative approach is the main type of analysis presented in chapters 5 and 6, although some frequency counts are also presented for illustration of tendencies. Percentages and frequencies were determined for the study (see the Appendix section).

For the analysis of the data, the letters were organized into two groups. The first group comprises the letters and excerpts written between the 16th to the 18th centuries and the second group comprises the letters from the 19th century to beginning of the 20th century. This classification is derived from taking into account the social tendencies found in Costa Rican history in the economic and political-cultural domains. For each period the data were counted and tabulated following the external and internal factors used in the study. For each external factor (gender of the interlocutors, century, type of relationship between interlocutors), the frequency of the linguistic variables were counted and tabulated. **The first group of letters is used as a comparative or point of reference group, but the analysis will be centered on the second group and particularly focused on the analysis and evolution of the pronoun *usted*.**

Given the qualitative nature of the study, no statistical package was applied but percentages of frequencies were established. In the analysis chapters (five and six), partial summaries are included, summarizing the relevant tendencies of the frequencies and variations for each external factor.

4.2.1 External factors

The external or non-linguistic factors to be considered in the study are century, generation and gender.

4.2.1.1 Century

The first external factor is the **century**. The data are separated by century and within the two large groups mentioned above: 16th – 18th centuries, and 19th – early 20th centuries.

The letters used in this study for the 16th to 18th centuries appear in Table 4.3

Period	From the 16th to the 18th centuries
1560-1600	Al muy ilustre señor Licenciado Juan Martínez Landecho, Presidente de la Audiencia de los Confines.
	Al muy ilustre señor Licenciado Juan Martínez Landecho, Presidente de la Audiencia de los Confines.
	Al muy ilustre señor Licenciado Juan Martínez de Landecho, Presidente de la Audiencia de los Confines.
	Carta de Diego de Artieda a Don Francisco Céspedes, su teniente de gobernador en Nicoya.
1600-1650	Carga del Adelantado y Gobernador Don Gonzalo Vásquez de Coronado a su teniente de gobernador.
	Carta del Capitán Alonso de Bonilla al Gobernador Don Juan de Ocón y Trillo
1650-1700	Carta de Alonso Bonilla.
	Carta del Padre Franciscano Pedro de la hos con abiso del enemigo.
	Carta de Juan Álvarez de Ulate
	Carta de Fray Melchor López y Fray Antonio Margil a Don Antonio de Barrios.
1700-1750	Carta de Don Diego Vásquez de Montiel Coronado dirigida a su tía doña Ma. Termino Vásquez de Coronado, adelantada de Costa Rica.
	Carta de Diego Velázquez de Montiel Coronado, adelantado de Costa Rica a Fray Pedro Brinigas.
1750-1800	Carta de Fray Tomás López sobre la invasión de los pueblos de Cabagra y San Francisco del Terraba por indios Nortes de Talamanca.

Table 4.5 Letters used in the study between the 16th and 18th centuries.

The next table displays the letters used in the study for the second period under analysis, the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Period	First half of the 19th century	Type of relationship
1800-1850	From José Antonio Bonilla to his brother Santiago Bonilla	Between brothers
	From Miguel Bonilla to his sister Juana Bonilla	Between brother and sister
	From Hipólito Calvo a Carmen Calvo	Between brothers
	From María Bolívar to her son Miguel Bonilla	From mother to son
	From the citizen Pablo Alvarado	
	From Colonel Aqueche	
Period	Second half of the 19th century	
1850-1894	From Juan Rafael Mora to José Joaquín Mora	
	From Juan Rafael Mora to his wife Ines de Aguilar	
	Excerpt from a letter of Juan Rafael mora to José Joaquín Mora.	
	From Jose Maria Cañas to his wife Guadalupe	
	From Manuel González Zeledón to María Isabel Carvajal	
	From Ricardo Fernández Guardia to Pío Víquez	
	From Carlos Gagini to Ricardo Fernández Guardia.	
Period	First half of the 20th century	
1900-1935	From Manuel González Zeledón to Joaquín García Monge	
	From a journalist to a female high school student	
	From María Isabel Carvajal to Joaquín García Monge	
	From María Isabel Carvajal to Joaquín García Monge	
	From Antonio Armilio Arce to Amado León, vecino.	

Table 4.6 Letters used in the study between the 19th and the 20th centuries

4.2.1.2 Generational

The second factor, the generational relationship between the interlocutors, is a key factor in the analysis because it helps determine which forms and how the forms are employed according to the age of the participants in the interaction. Three different ranges of age were considered depending on the age of each interlocutor. Given the lack of biographical data, the generational factor was established as follows. This factor distinguishes whether the W (writer) is older than R (reader) (e.g. parent/children, spouses), or the W is around the same age as R (e.g. siblings, friends, spouses), or whether W is younger than R (children/parent). Table 4.4 presents the types of relationships found in the letters. Combination of these possibilities plus the dyad same gender/different gender, results in four possible combinations, as it is detailed in the following table. The type of relationship is established by the information that can be gathered from the letter (the salutation, the farewell, kinship terms in the body of the letter, the context).

Information such as birth order in the family (e.g. between siblings) were impossible to determine. It may be inferred from the way the interaction takes place (e.g. orders), but it would not be objective to assume who is older or younger (for example, between siblings) based on that assumption. As mentioned before, the scarcity of texts and its origin make it impossible to determine any kind of information beyond what it is mentioned in the letters or manuscripts. These letters are from lay people and not from families or individuals of important social or political positions for who biographical data are known, with the exception of the letters that belong to private collections or are written between well known authors for whom biographical data can be found.

Sixteen and seventeen centuries:

Period	Topic	Rel: top>down	Rel: equal, gender	not dif.	Rel: equal , dif gender	Rel: not equal, same gender	Rel: equal, same gender	Rel: down>top
1590 (Esparza)						From Lieutenant to Captain		
Period	Topic	Rel: top>down	Rel: equal, gender	not dif.	Rel: equal , dif gender	Rel: not equal, same gender	Rel: equal, same gender	Rel: down>top
1614 (Cartago)								To a Friar
1610-1620						Dialogue between governor and clergyman		

Table 4.7 Type of relationship between interlocutors and century.(16th an 17th centuries)

The next table illustrates the 18th century uses:

Period	Topic	Rel: top > down	Rel: equal, Gender	not dif.	Rel: equal, dif. Gender	Rel: not equal, same gender	Rel: equal, same gender	Rel: down > top
1723						Owner of a farm to a farm worker		
1724							Dialog between neighbors	
1725						Dialog between Lieutenant of Governor and second Lieutenant		
1725					Wedding's proposal			
1749 (Cubujuqui')							Between neighbors	
1758							Letter to a friend	
1768							Between neighbors	
1774						Argument between an aunt (30 years old) and her niece (23 years old)		
1775							Dialogue between female friends	
1775						Dialogue between a folk healer and the customer		
1775							Between strangers	
1775							Between female friends	
1782 (Cartago)							Excerpts of letters written between male siblings	
1782 (Esparza)							Excerpts of letters written between male siblings	
1793 (Escazu)								

Table 4.8 Type of relationship between interlocutors and century (18th century)

In the analysis chapter, for analysis purposes, the generation factor is combined with the gender factor, but also with the type of relationship: if the interaction takes place between family members or friends, of the same or different gender. This matrix combines these three variables

as follows in regard to the letters from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Again, data from this first period are offered as a point of comparison with the second period which will be focused primarily on the analysis of the pronoun *usted*.

Relationship not equal/different gender	Letter	Type of relationship
Diego Velásquez de Montiel to his aunt Maria Termino Vásquez de Coronado	L12	From nephew to aunt. The aunt holds a government position.

Table 4.9 Relationship not equal/different gender (Relat \neq gender) (16th to 18th c.)

None

Table 4.10 Relationship equal/different gender (Relat = \neq gender) (16th to 18th centuries)

Relationship not equal/same gender	Letter	Type of relationship
Captain to President of the Audience of Guatemala	L1, L2, L3	Official
Captain Diego de Artieda to his lieutenant	L4	Official
Captain Alonso Bonilla to Gobernador Juan de Ocon y Trillo	L7	Official
Friar de la Hos to Gobernador	L8	Official
Juan Alvarez de Ulate to Gobernador	L9	Official
Juan Alvarez de Ulate to Gobernador	L10	Official
Diego Vásquez de Montiel to Friar Pedro de Brinigas	L13	Official
Friar Tomas Lopez to Gobernador	L14	Official

Table 4.11 Relationship not equal/ equal gender (Relat \neq =gender) (16th to 18th c.)

Relationship equal/same gender	Letter	Type of relationship
Gobernador Don Gonzalo Vásquez de Coronado to his lieutenant	L5	Official
Captain A. de Bonilla to Gobernador Ocon y Trillo	L6	Official
Friar Antonio Margil to Friar Antonio Barrios	L11	Official

Table 4.12 Relationship equal/ equal gender (Relat =/ =gender) (16th to 18th centuries)

As for the excerpts from manuscripts, the excerpts that represent each type of interaction are distributed as follows for the 16th to the 18th centuries:

Type of relationship (equal/not equal; gender)	Excerpts	Type of relationship (participants)
Relationship \neq Gender	E10	Municipality worker to a female citizen
Relationship \neq Gender	E12, E7	Between two citizens, exchange about some witchcraft, from parent to witch/warlock (E12); from suitor to a woman (E7)
Relationship \neq Gender	E2, E3, E5, E6, E8, E4, E11 (2 nd part)	To a friar (E2); Exchange between a Governor and a priest (E3); said by a parent about an incident to his/her daughter (E5, impossible to determine H); between neighbors (E6); business interaction (E8); owner of a farmer to a work farmer (E4); from aunt to niece (E11)
Relationship $=$ Gender	E1, E9, E14, E13, E11 (1 st part), E15	Lieutenant to Captain (E1); between male friends (E9); between brothers (E14); between female friend (E13); between aunt and niece (E11); between brothers, the addressee is a priest also (E15)

Table 4.13 Excerpts from manuscripts/type of relationship (16th to 18th centuries)

The following data and tables display the information related to the family letters, 16 in total, employed in the analysis of the 19th and the 20th centuries. From a total of 16 letters, the letters are distributed as follows⁹²:

⁹² The format and presentation of the tables change slightly for this period (19th-20th centuries) due to the fact that the type of relationship is included in the table.

Period	Rel: top>down	Rel: equal, gender	not dif.	Rel: equal , dif gender	Rel: equal, same gender	not same gender	Rel: equal, same gender	Rel: down>top
1811-1820				Brother-sister (L16)			Brother - brother (L15)	
							Brother-brother (L17)	
			Mother-Son (L18)					
1851-1860							Brother-brother (L19)	
				Husband-wife (L20)				
							Brother-brother (L21)	
				Husband-wife (L22)				
1881-1890				Male friend to female friend (L23)				
1891-1900							Male acquaintance to male acquaintance (L24)	
							Male acquaintance to male acquaintance (L25)	
							Male friend to male friend (L26)	

Table 4.14 Letters according to type of relationship between interlocutors and century (19th century)

Period	Rel: top>down	Rel: not equal, dif. gender	Rel: equal , dif gender	Rel: not equal, same gender	Rel: equal, same gender	Rel: down>top
1901-1910		Journalist to a student (L27)				
1921-1930			Female friend to a male friend (L28)			
			Female friend to a male friend (L29)			
1931-1940					Male neighbor to a male neighbor (L30)	

Table 4.15 Letters according to type of relationship between interlocutors and century

(19th and 20th centuries)

In the generation variable, the letters were divided according to the type of relationships. The following table describes the type of relationships and groups for each generation.

Generation	Type of relationship
Writer around the same age as the reader	Siblings (it is impossible to determine who was born first, second, etc)
	Husband to wives
	Neighbors (two fathers)
	Acquaintances (around same generation of writers)
	Friends
Writer older than the reader	Mother to son
	Unknown individuals
Writer younger than writer	Young soldier to his captain ⁹³ .

**Table 4.16 Type of relationship according to generation
(19th to 20th centuries)**

4.2.1.3 Gender

The third and last external factor is Gender. Gender is taken into account by distinguishing the relationship between family members of the same gender (sisters, father and son, etc) as well as the relationship between individuals of different gender (husband/wife, father/daughter, etc). Table 4.12 presents the types of relationships by gender.

⁹³ This interaction also qualifies for writer older than the reader. It is a trial about the details of a battle and reflects both what is said by the young soldier to the captain and viceversa.

Period	Same gender M > M	Different gender M > F	Different gender F > M	Same Gender F > F
1560-1570	From Juan Vasquez de Coronado to Licdo. Juan Martinez (2 letters, M > M)			
1570-1580	From Diego de Artieda to Don Francisco Cespedes			
1600-1610	From Don Gonzalo Vasquez de Coronado to his lieutenant			
	From Captain Alonso de Bonilla to Governor Juan Ocon y Trillo			
1660-1670	From Alonso Bonilla to the Governor			
	From the Franciscan Priest Pedro de la hos to the Governor			
1670-1680	From Juan Alvarez de Ulate to the Governor Joan Francisco Saenz 2 letters, (M > M)			
1680-1690	From Friar Melchor Lopez and Friar Antonio Margil to D. Antonio Barrios			
1710-1720		From Don Diego Vasquez de Montiel Coronado to his aunt Maria Tremiño Vasquez de Coronado		
1720-1730	From Diego Vasquez de Montiel Coronado to Friar Pedro Brinigas			
1760-1770	From Friar Tomes Lopez to Friar Esteban Curras			

Table 4.17 Table of type of relationships by gender (16th to 18th centuries)

The next table displays the type of relationship by gender, but for the period between the 19th century and the 20th century. Letters between women were not found.

Period	Same Gender M > M	Different Gender M > F	Different Gender F > M
1811-1820	Jose A. Bonilla to Santiago Bonilla (L15)	Miguel Bonilla to his sister Juana Bonilla (L16)	From María Bonilla to her son Miguel Bonilla. (L18)
	Hipolito Calvo to Carmen Calvo (L17)		
1851-1860	Juan Rafael Mora to Jose J. Mora (L19)	Juan Rafael Mora to his wife Inés de Aguilar. (L22)	
	Juan Rafael Mora to his brother (excerpt) (L21)	José María Cañas to his wife Guadalupe (L20)	
1881-1890		Manuel González Zeledón to María Isabel Carvajal (L23)	
1891-1900	Ricardo Fernández Guardia to Pío Viquez(L24)		
	Carlos Gagini to Ricardo Fernández Guardia (L25)		
	Manuel González Zeledón to Joaquín García Monge (L26)		
1901-1910			Fragment of a letter written from a journalist to a high school female student (L27)
1921-1930			María Isabel Carvajal to Joaquín García Monge(L28)
			María Isabel Carvajal to Joaquín García Monge (L29)
1931-1940	Antonio Armilio to Amado León (L30)		

**Table 4.18 Type of relationship according to gender
(19th to 20th centuries)**

4.2.2 Internal factors

In addition to the external or social factors mentioned in 4.2 (century, generation, gender), the analysis focuses on language-internal factors. The dependent variables are the second person pronouns *vos*, *usted* and *tú* and nominal address forms (*Vuestra Excelencia*, *Vuestra Merced*, *Muy Ilustre Señor*). The six linguistic factors that are treated as independent

variables are the subject pronoun, the use and type of determiner, the indirect and direct object pronouns, the verbal form, and the semantic class of the verb.

Regarding the **Subject pronoun**, the subject form of the pronouns *vos*, *tú* and *usted* in subject position is considered. This form will clearly show the writer's preference.

With respect to the use and type of **Determiners**, the used form can also indicate which of the personal address forms are being favored. *Su/suyo* would indicate the use of the pronoun *usted*. *Tu/tuyo* would indicate a non-*usted* form. Consequently, it will be coded as for the pronouns *vos/tú*. Since the determiner expressions for *tú* and *vos* are morphologically similar, in the analysis, when it was impossible to determine through context to which pronoun (*tú* or *vos*) the determiner was referring to, it was marked as *tu TV* or *tuyo TV*, where *TV* signs that the determiner could be ascribed to either *tú* or *vos*.

With respect to the **Indirect object** pronoun used, the indirect object form *le* was counted as referring to the pronoun *usted*. The indirect object form *te* was counted as referring both for the pronouns *tú* and *vos*. The same difference that was used to classify morphologically similar forms in the determiners will be applied for indirect object pronoun: *te TV* means an indirect object that could be related to either to *tú* or to *vos*.

With respect to the **Direct object** pronoun used, the object pronouns *lo* and *la* are coded as referring to the pronoun *usted*. Pronoun *te* is coded as referring to the pronouns *tú* and *vos*. In the respective charts, the form *te* that cannot be related to neither *tú* or *vos*, will be marked as *te TV*.

With respect to the **Verb** form, this linguistic factor is relevant in two aspects. Morphologically, it expresses very clearly which second person singular pronoun (concept) has been chosen by the writer, and it helps clarify the pronoun used and its frequency, given the numerous forms found in the letters and manuscripts. Morphologically, it also clarifies whether the verb refers to the *tú* or the *vos* pronoun in most cases. In some instances, as with previous independent variables, *tú* and *vos* forms in the preterit, in some verbs, are morphologically identical (*tú fuiste/ vos fuiste; tú viniste, vos viniste; tú diste/vos diste*, etc). In those cases in which, again, the verbal form cannot be related to any of those pronouns, a *TV* verbal form category is introduced to distinguish those cases from the clear ones.

A final factor related to the verb refers to the semantics of the verb and the pragmatic meaning that the verbs have in the context of the letters and manuscripts. This is particularly

relevant for the study of the pronoun *usted* and its uses as approach or withdrawal meaning/function. It is coded whether the verbs are used to give advice, to suggest, to request, etc. Classifications of these verbs follow.

The classification of verbs used for the analysis is taken from Austin (1962). Another type of speech act is taken from Searle (1969), since it is not taken into account in Austin's taxonomy of speech acts. The majority of the verbs analyzed, mainly for the study of the pronoun *usted* and its semantic change, fit the classification proposed. Nevertheless, there are at least five types of speech acts or communicative acts that are more pragmatic in nature because they acquire their meaning in the consideration of the hearer, or in speech acts that are more related to the consideration of the own self (speaker's self). For their classification, the examples given by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987: 65-68) are taken into account in their corresponding taxonomy of Face Threatening Acts (FTAs).

The classification of verbs is presented in the following table.

Type of speech act	Examples (content communicated)
Verdictives	To belittle, to boast, to disapprove, to accuse
Exercitives	to suggest, to order, to request, the exert pressure S > H, to advice, to excuse, to remind, to constrain
Commisives	to promise
Behavitives	Expression of sentiments from S to H, to compliment, to express admiration, to express negative emotions, to express thanks, to offer an excuse/apologize, to make an offer, to express an emotion, to accept a compliment/gift,
Expositives	To confess, to make an statement
Declaratives (Searle)	To warn

Table 4.19 Types of speech acts (Based on Austin (1962) and Searle (1969))

Speech act centered on the speaker	Centered in the consideration of both, hearer and speaker	Centered on the hearer	Other
To express self-humiliation	To express/communicate no common values between S/W and H&R	To express indifference to the positive face needs of H/R	To communicate/express a speech act with increased possibility that an FTA will occur (sensitive topic)
		To express/communicate same values of the H	

Table 4.20 Another type of speech acts (based on Brown and Levinson's 1978-1987)

4.3 Coding

The codification of the letters and the excerpts was based on the number of the letters and excerpts available, and they were assigned a number in a chronological order. The first letter of year 1563 was coded with the letter L in capital letter to symbolize “letter” followed by the number 1, which is L1. The 12th letter was therefore coded as L12. In order to code the excerpts, the same pattern was followed, except that instead of L, the letter E was chosen to mean “Excerpt” and also they were coded numerically in chronological order. The first excerpt was then coded as E1.

The letters and manuscripts are taken from the *Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica*, *Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana de Costa Rica* y del *Archivo de Indias* in Sevilla. Other letters are taken from published works (*Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica*, *Fuentes Documentales para el Estudio del Español de Costa Rica*) and from private collections.

The *Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica*, abbreviated **ANCR** or **AN**, has three important sections:

1. *Complementario Colonial*, abbreviated **CC**.
2. *Guatemala*, abbreviated **G**. These documents are documents that relate to Costa Rica but for a long time were preserved at a Guatemalan Archive.
3. *Cartago*, abbreviated **C**.

The *Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana* is the archive that belongs to the Catholic Church, it is abbreviated as **ACM**. The documents are preserved in boxes that are labeled with a number, and then by the number of the folio.

Every time one of the documents quotes comes from one of these two archives, the localization of the document is specified between brackets.

Example: *Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica*, section *Complementario Colonial*, number of the document, number of folio will be specified as: ANCR: CC0374, fo. 21.

The other letters or documents that belong to other (private) collections or to other archives or collections of documents, published work, the original localization of the pronoun is specified in the bibliography and throughout the study.

CHAPTER 5

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

The linguistic analysis is focused on data from the 16th through the first half of the 20th centuries. For the analysis, the data will be divided into two groups.

The first part (Section I) will analyze the 16th, 17th and the 18th centuries; the second part (Section II) will analyze the 19th and the 20th centuries⁹⁴. The linguistic factors considered in the study are (1) the subject pronoun (*tú*, *vos* and *usted*), and the nominal address forms (such as *Vuestra Excelencia*, *Vuestra Merced*, *Muy Ilustre Señor*, etc), (2) the verbal forms, (3) the possessive determiners, (4) the direct and the indirect object pronouns (5) and the semantic class of the verb (this category will be applied in the analysis of the evolution of the pronoun *usted*). **The analysis will be centered mainly on the categories of subject pronouns/nominal address forms and on verbal forms.**

The letters have been distributed according to three social factors and one external-temporary factor: (1) the generation relationship between the writer and his/her reader, (2) the gender relationship, (3) the type of interaction (4) and the century the letter was written in (from the second half of 16th century, to the first half of the 20th century).

5.1 Foreword. Section I. Data of the 16th, the 17th and the 18th centuries

The first part of this chapter focuses on the analysis of the letters of the 16th, 17th and the 18th centuries. In this set of letters it is possible to find missives of two different characters: Letters of administrative character and excerpts of manuscripts. Family letters were not available for this period, except for one letter from the 18th century⁹⁵. The decision to include these administrative letters comes from the need of differentiating the type of subject pronouns used

⁹⁴ The numeration and organization of this chapter has been complex due to the amount of data and sections needed for the analysis. This chapter, therefore, is divided in section I (the 16th, the 17th and the 18th centuries) and section II (the 19th and the 20th centuries). Under each section, the numeration will start with 5.1 and continue with 5.2. Each section will be divided from the other one (Section II will start in a new page). See the index.

⁹⁵ The letter written by Diego Vázquez to his aunt. This letter is also administrative in character since it refers to the role of the aunt as “Adelantada de Costa Rica”, a title given by the Spanish Crown.

for the analysis and how the use of these pronouns has been understood in previous studies. In the previous study of Quesada (2005), these nominal address forms are seen and analyzed as a part of the regular repertoire of the speaker/writer of the subject pronoun category and the appreciation of these forms as constituting parts of a system characterized by “chaos”. By analyzing them and separating them from excerpts from manuscripts, it is intended to offer a different perspective to what has been previously said and differentiate between different types of texts (the administrative letters were forwarded to individuals that were part of the administrative structure of the Spanish Crown), whereas the excerpts of the manuscripts were written for local purposes. It is important to make clear that these nominal address forms were part of a specific type of text.⁹⁶ **The analysis of the administrative letters and excerpts are preparatory and provide a reference for the better understanding of the evolution of the pronouns during the 19th and the 20th centuries. The first period says very little about the address form system,** but through the analysis it will be explained why it is important to establish differences regarding the type of text analyzed and how the address form system actually operated at written level.

The proposed analysis of the variables is focused in two aspects. The first aspect is variation. Examples or letters that do not show variation will not be analyzed since they follow expected use. The second aspect in the analysis will be the use of the pronouns according to the type of relationship between the person who writes the letters S/W (speaker/writer) and the person who receives it H/R (hearer/reader).

5.1.1 Gender (Analysis by letters)

From a total of 49 written resources, 30 written resources belong to this first period covering from the 16th century to the 18th century.

⁹⁶ It is also important to point out that this doctoral dissertation, in addition to providing a deeper insight into the evolution of the second person forms in Costa Rican Spanish during colonial times, also tries to extinguish previous ideas on the understanding and perception of the analysis of the address forms in Costa Rican Spanish. At the same time, this dissertation contributes to specific understanding of the evolution of Costa Rican Spanish pronouns within the realm of the Spanish language (the first historical study focusing on the evolution of personal pronouns for Costa Rican Spanish **from a multidisciplinary perspective** combining language variation and change, socio-historical linguistics, semantic change theory and politeness theory, and the first study in general Hispanic linguistic literature that pursues an explanation of the semantic change of the pronoun *usted*). This study also contributes with the more general knowledge of the history of the Spanish language in Central America.

	16 th century	17 th century	18 th century
Letters	4	7	3
Documents/manuscripts	1	2	13
TOTAL	5	9	16

Table 5.1 Letters included in the study from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries

From the letters gathered for this first period between the 16th century to the 18th century, a total of 14, only one letter is written by a male to a female, the other six letters are between males. Letters between females were not found nor letters from a female addressing a male⁹⁷. Regarding the excerpts from manuscripts, 10 of the excerpts reflect interactions between males, 2 from male to female, 2 from female to male, 2 between females and one that could not be determined.

By analyzing each grammatical category within the variable of gender, the attempt is to build an analysis that can mirror the system as a whole, and not partially. By looking at the system as a whole there can be a more structured and complete idea about how the address form system is working at this first period of time. After analyzing each grammatical category independently, the following table reflects the frequency of use of every category:

Nominal address forms (e.g. <i>Vuestra Señoría</i>)			Pronominal (pronouns <i>tú, vos, usted</i>)	
Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Subject	70	100%	0	0%
Determiners	5	100%	0	0%
Indirect object	30	100%	0	0%
Direct object	4	100%	0	0%
Verbs	81	100%	0	0%

Table 5.2 Subject pronoun, Male to male, 16th to 18th centuries

⁹⁷ As it was stated before, the decision to include administrative letters was motivated by the intention of provide clarification on the understanding of the evolution of the second person address forms. Previous approaches considered the forms included in the administrative letters as a part of the regular repertoire of the second person address forms of Colonial Costa Rican Spanish. They are only part of the written register, at formal level. Previous approaches that made no differentiation considered the system to be “in chaos”. Through the differentiation of registers, it will be possible to understand that the “chaos” is nonexistent and follows specific patterns of variation.

5.1.1 Male to male

The documents of this first period, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, show predominantly nominal address forms over subject pronouns, with a particular preference for the forms *Vuestra Señoría* ‘Your Lordship’ and *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’; especially in the letters written between male individuals, as shown in the table above. There is no variation in this type of interaction between male individuals.

5.1.1.2 Male to female/ Female to male

The uses between male and female W/R are very scarce, since letters documenting these uses are rare. In the only document found for this period, the recipient of the letter is addressed on two levels: as a family relative and as a person that holds an administrative position within the Spanish political hierarchy (Adelantada de Costa Rica). Therefore the relationship described in this letter represents a relationship of official character more than a familiar relationship, although the letter is written and addressed in terms of the familiar relationship. No variation is present in this type of interaction and the use of the nominal address from “*Vuestra Señoría*” follows expected uses

The verbal forms display a consistent pattern in the sense that they display the same verbal conjugation for the nominal address forms, independently of the form under consideration (*Vuestra Señoría* or *Vuestra Merced*).⁹⁸ In all cases the verbal form is connected to a formal address form, which in this case is nominal.

The verbal forms uses were found in exchanges from male to male and from male to female. From 90 verbal forms found in these exchanges, 100% of the uses correspond to nominal address forms. 90% of those interactions belong to the exchanges M > M, and the other 10% to the interactions M > F. The verbal forms present in the letters written from M to F show no variation since the nominal address form related to it is just the form “*Vuestra Señoría*”, but the use of the verb is consistent and displays the same pattern seen above for the letters written between male individuals.

⁹⁸ This study is focused just on the second person singular forms, with verbs in second or third person singular; the plural forms *vosotros*, *ustedes* or the corresponding nominal address forms in plural (*Vuestras Mercedes*, etc) are not considered.

Regarding to this frequent use of nominal address forms, Ralph Penny has also referred to the fact that the appearance and frequent use of nominal address forms such as *merced*, *señoría*, among others was due to the weakening process in the use of *vos*. Penny's statement confirms that the use of more than one of these forms was common in Spain already in the 15th century and, as a result, the form *vuestra merced* > *usted* was the nominal address form that became generalized on its use. (Penny 2001: 138). This is not the case in the letters analyzed in this study where there is just one nominal address form used in the letters under analysis and, consequently, no variation.

5.1.2 Gender (Analysis by excerpts)

From the manuscript excerpts, the data are, again, very scarce. The manuscripts suggest the use not only of nominal address forms, but also the use of subject pronouns. In this respect, the excerpts of the manuscripts show a different tendency in regard to the administrative letters considered for this first period from the 16th to the 18th centuries. This tendency is clearly marked by the presence of variation as it will be shown.

From a sample of seventeen excerpts, twenty one examples were found with both use of nominal address forms and subject (pronominal) forms, as it is shown in the table below.

	Nominal address form		Pronoun		None (just verbal form)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Subject	4	19.04%	12	57.14	5	23.80%

Table 5.3 Nominal Address Forms and Pronominal forms in excerpts from the 16th to the 18th centuries

The preference showed in the excerpts is for the use of the pronominal forms over the nominal address forms, a tendency that goes in the opposite direction to the tendency showed in the letters.

In the interaction between males, the tendency is not to use any pronoun (Spanish is a pro-drop language), but to use nominal address forms such as *buesençia* 'Your Excelency', *vuestra merced* 'Your honor' (written as *vmd/vm*); in third place in term of frequency is the use of the pronoun *usted*. The interaction between men does not show any variation in the use of nominal address forms or subject pronouns. The next example is a dialogue between governor

and priest, it displays the use of nominal address forms such as *vuestra merced* ‘Your honor’ (written as *vmd*):

(1)Cartago, 1614: [Governor] Padre, *vmd* se baya a la mano y mire que es sacerdote.
[Priest] Gobernador, *vmd* crea que los de la audiencia de Guatemala an sido y son padrastos desta provincia. Archivo Nacional: G 033, fo.3. [Governor: Father, *Your Mercy* be careful and observe [his status] that you are a priest. Priest: Governor, *Your Mercy* should believe that the [people] from the Audiencia de Guatemala have been and are the “step-father” of this province].

This use between men contrasts with the type of address forms used between women. Women use pronominal subject pronouns instead of nominal address forms, but the use of these pronouns is asymmetric: a different pronoun is given and a different pronoun is received. The following example is an exchange between a niece and her aunt. The aunt addresses the niece with the *approach* pronoun *vos*, whereas the niece addresses her aunt with the *withdrawal* pronoun *usted*. This is a very interesting example because at the beginning of the exchange, the aunt, 30 years old, also addresses a female neighbor visiting at her niece’s house, and the aunt addresses the neighbor with *vos and* also with the pronoun *tú* (*verbal form*), and later she addresses the niece with *vos* too. Here the excerpt is divided by the different turns taken by the participants in the interaction in which the variation (by the aunt) can be seen:

(2)“[**Aunt to female neighbour**]: “estando en su cosina le oyó decir a la referida muchacha **handá vete, quitate** de aquí, que tengo que hablar en secreto con Manuela y no combiene que **bos** lo oigás” [Being in the kitchen, it could be heard saying to the [previously]referred young woman come on (*vos form*)!, leave (*tú form*)!, go away (*tv form*)! I have to talk about something secret with Manuela and it is not convenient that **you ‘vos’** listen (**vos verbal form**) to it]

The variation can be seen both at the verbal and the pronoun category. The verbal forms display forms in the *tú* form (*vete*), *vos* form (*handá, oigás*) and a *tv* form (*quitate*); the address forms display the pronoun *vos*. Here, it is possible to see how relevant is to pay attention not just to the subject pronoun but also the verbal form, with a prevalence on the use of *vos* (verbal forms and pronoun)

“[**Aunt to niece**]: “por lo que inmediatamente se fue la referida muchacha, quedando solas las dos opocitoras, y estando las dos sentadas dijo la abenticia **dime** (*tú verbal form*) por qué le contaste a mi marido todo lo que yo te conté pues todo me lo ha dho y no ha sido otra persona que **voz**? [Immediatly, the referred young woman left, being left alone, the two women, and being seated the aunt asked “why did you tell my husband all what I

told you?”, because [he] told me everything and it has not been other person than **you** ‘**vos**’?]

In this second turn of the aunt, this time talking to her niece, the variation can be seen between *tú* and *vos* forms. The verb *dime* is in *tú* form, whereas the subject pronoun *vos* is used when the aunt refers to the niece. In these two consecutive turns, the aunt is addressing other two female individuals. In the next turn, the niece replies to her and it is possible to see that the address form used by the niece is not the same employed by her aunt when talking to her:

[Niece to aunt]: “A lo que le respondió yo, tía no le he contado nada y quando **usted** lo dixo abía otras personas”; [to what [the niece] answered “I aunt, did not tell him anything and when **you** ‘**usted**’ said it, there were other people (present)...]

The niece uses consistently the form *usted* (both the pronoun and the verbal form). This different use or practice makes evident, as it was mentioned before, that the use of the address forms is asymmetric: the nieces receives *tú* and *vos* but not *usted* and the aunt in reply, receives solely the form *usted*:

[Aunt to niece]: “Y volviendo a replicarle le dixo yo bengo satisfecha de que los que estaban delante siempre he comunicado secreto y como cuñadas mías los han guardado, por lo que desde luego **voz** fuiste, por lo que vusco a tu marido para contárselo, porque así como le contaste eso a mi marido le contarés lo que yo te conté después, por lo que sabrá el tuyo, que debes de tener algún interés en el mío quando le cuentes lo que te dicen en secreto.” (AN: CC 0342; fo. 3). Villavieja, 1774.[and replying to her said “I am very satisfied that the ones that were present I had always told them secrets and as my sisters-in-law they kept them, therefore **you** ‘**vos**’ were, I am looking for your husband to tell him, because the same way you told that to my husband, the same way you are going to tell him what I told you after that, so your [husband] will know that you must have some interest in my [husband] since you tell [my husband] everything what is said to you as a secret.”]

In this third turn the aunt keeps using the forms she already employed to address her niece, regardless of the pronoun she received from her niece in the previous turn: *vos* is used as a subject pronoun and the verb used with the pronoun (*vos fuiste*) and also verbs with the *tú* form (*cuentes*).

This is an important example because it reflects the use of the *usted* with a *withdrawal* value between females that are also relatives, but in an asymmetrical way (from niece to aunt but

not the other way around). This excerpt shows already the variation present towards the end of the 18th century. What is of particular interest from this interaction is the variation between the pronoun with the *approach* value (*vos*). The use of *usted* follows the “canonical” use.

The following excerpt also shows an interaction between two female friends. In this interaction, the familiar pronouns *tú* and *vos* are used:

(3) “**Tú** me dixiste que tenías cuatro calavacitos de polvos.” [“**You ‘tú’** told me that you had four small containers with powder.”]

Later in the same document:

(4) “...ella le dijo entonces **vos** sabés lo que este animal me dice” Cartago, 1775. [...she then said, **you ‘vos’** know what this animal tells me...](AN: CC 0374; fo. 3) (id. fo. 19)

In the examples (3 and 4) it is also possible to see the variation, in this case, with the *approach* pronouns, in an interaction between female friends. There is no use of the *withdrawal* pronoun (*usted*).

Verbal forms in the excerpts, however, add up to a total of 43 occurrences, distributed as follows, according to the interactions. Between males, 24 verbal appearances were counted. The pronoun *usted* is the pronoun with the highest percentage of appearances with 29.16%, followed by nominal address forms with 25%. The address forms also used between males correspond to the following forms, *vosotros* with 18.18%, and *TV* forms with 18.18% and also the personal pronoun *tú* with 13.63%, percentages that reflect the preference between men to address each other with nominal address forms or the *withdrawal* *usted*. **As it becomes evident from the data, the interactions between men are characterized by a repertoire of nominal and address forms but they are not in variation within the same turn.**

What is also obvious from the excerpts is **the use of forms that are undergoing phases of grammaticalization**. It is possible to see the contrast between *buesençia* (a form that will eventually disappear) and *usted* a form completely grammaticalized, at least from the morphological point of view.

The following example displays the use with nominal (grammaticalized) address forms⁹⁹:

(5) Cartago, 1614: [to a friar] “*buesençia* me perdone o me puede perdonar.” Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana: c.49, fo.203r. [“**Your Good Excellence** forgive me oh forgive me (if you can)”.]

With the pronoun *usted* (withdrawal):

(6) Cubujuquí, 1749: “como *usted* me enlace el buey de que me dio noticia le daré una petaca de tabaco” (AN: CC-2008; fo. 2) [“If **you ‘usted’** lasso the ox that you told me about, I will give you a bundle of tobacco leaves.”]

The verbal forms in the interactions displayed in the excerpts between $F > M$, $M > F$ and $F > F$ do not display the use of verbs related to nominal address forms. In the interactions $F > M$, 60% of the uses correspond to TV forms and 40% to the pronouns *vosotros*. In the interactions from M to F, the two pronouns present are *tú* and *vos*, with 50% of the use each, that is, also the verbs display covariation.

There is no covariation in the interactions that take place between male/female and female/male, as it can be seen in the examples below.

Examples of male to female:

(7) Aserri, 1768: “*Dígale* usted a su marido que dice el señor alcalde Monge que suspenda de sacar aguardiente.” (AN: CC 0272, fo. 2) [“You **‘usted’** tell **‘usted’** your husband that the Major Monge asks (him) to stop producing (illegal) liquor.”]

Female to male (a woman discourages a man’s romantic advances):

(8) Cartago, 1724: “Que mire que se lo lleva el diablo.” (ACM: c. 11, 1.4.; fo. 434). [“You better **watch ‘usted’** (what you are doing) or you will be damned.”]
The interaction between females ($F > F$) is different.

The verbal forms are related also to *tú*, *vos* and TV forms: the pronoun *vos* is present in 62.5% of the appearances, followed by *tú* with 25% and by TV forms with 12.5% of the uses. One use of the *withdrawal* *usted* was found, with the 7.69% of the uses. **The following example illustrates the covariation (reflected by the verbs) between these three forms:**

⁹⁹ *Buesençia* comes from *Vuestra Excelencia*. It is possible to see here aspects of grammaticalization: bleaching of meaning (the possessive *vuestra* disappears) and phonological attrition.

Villavieja, 1774:

(2)“**[Aunt to female neighbour]**: “estando en su cosina le oyó desir a la referida muchacha **handá (vos verb) vete (tú verb), quitate (tv verb)** de aquí, que tengo que hablar en secreto con Manuela y no conviene que **bos lo oigás (vos verb)** ” [Being in the kitchen, (the witness) could hear her saying to the [previously] referred young woman “**Come on! (vos verb) Leave! (tú verb) Go away (vos verb)!** I have to talk about something secret with Manuela and it is not convenient that you listen (vos verb) to it.”]

The verbs in covariation here are *handá* (vos verb), *vete* (tú verb) *quitate* (tv verb) and *oigás* (vos verb) It should be noticed that the only subject pronoun is *bos*, if it weren't because of the information provided by the verbs, we would not perceive the covariation between the second person singular forms.

“**[Aunt to niece]**: “...por lo que inmediatamente se fue la referida muchacha, quedando solas las dos opocitoras, y estando las dos sentadas dijo la abenticia **dime (tú verb)** por qué le **contaste (tv verb)** a mi marido todo lo que yo te conté pues todo me lo ha dho y no ha sido otra persona que voz (sic)? [“Immediately, the referred young woman left, leaving alone the two women, and being seated the aunt asked why did you **tell (tú verb)** my husband all that I **told (vos verb)** you, because [he] told me everything and it could not have been any other person than you?”]

In this second turn of the interaction it is possible to appreciate the same scenario as in the previous paragraph. The verbal forms show covariation between *tú* and *tv* forms: *dime* (tú form) and *contaste* (tv form) and the only subject pronoun expressed in the text is *vos*.

“**[Niece to aunt]**: A lo que le respondió yo, tía no le he contado nada y quando usted lo **dixo (usted verb)** abía otras personas...”; [To what [the niece] answered “I, Aunt, didn't tell him anything and when you **said (usted verb)** it there were other people (present)...”]

In the third exchange the speaker is the niece and the aunt is addressed by her with *usted*; the way in which the niece addresses the aunt is consistent: she uses *usted* both with subject pronoun and verbal form: “*usted lo dixo*”. In this interaction between females in which one (the aunt) holds a “higher” position by her condition of being the aunt of the speaker, it is possible to see that the niece uses just one form to address her aunt, that is, in regard to the status of her interlocutor. She

does not employ more than one address form, that is, there is no covariation when the direction of the address is from bottom to top, or a vertical relationship:

“**[Aunt to niece]:** ...y volviendo a replicarle le dixo yo bengo satisfecha de que los que estaban delante siempre he comunicado secreto y como cuñadas mías los han guardado, por lo que desde luego **voz fuiste (vos verb)**, por lo que vusco a tu marido para contárselo, porque así como le **contaste (tv verb)** eso a mi marido le **contarés (vos verb)** lo que yo te conté después, por lo que sabrá el tuyo, que **debes (tú verb)** de tener algún interés en el mío quando le **cuentas (tú verb)** lo que te dicen en secreto”. Villavieja, 1774.[...and replying to her said “I am very satisfied that I could trust the ones that were present because I have told them secrets (in the past) and as my sisters-in-law they kept them, therefore you **were (vos verb)** the one, I am seeking out your husband to tell him, because the same way you **told (tv verb)** that to my husband, the same way you are going to **tell (vos verb)** him what I told you after that (additional secret), so your [husband] will know that you **must (tú verb)** have some interest in mine [husband] since you **tell (tú verb)** [my husband] everything what is said to you as a secret”]. (AN: CC 0342; fo. 3)

Differently than in the interactions $M > M$, in the interactions between females there is a preference between females for the use of second personal approach pronouns in which variation is displayed, whereas male use preferently withdrawal *usted* or nominal address forms.

In the previous paragraphs it was presented how the excerpts, unlike the administrative letters, display variation. It is convenient to quote here again the definition that Suzanne Romaine (1982) has offered for variation:

“...(Variation is) the existence of different norms of speaking and prestige attached to them as coexistent within the same speech community...” (Romaine, 1982: 22)

It should also be recalled that this different understanding of variation implies that the speech community can share specific features of the language but not necessarily share the rules that apply to those features (Romaine: 1983). For example a language can have features A, B and C. One group of speakers may use (have a rule) to use those linguistic features in the order of A, C and B. Another group of speakers, inside the same speech community, will use the same linguistic features as C, B and A. That is, inside the same speech community, some speakers may use a set of linguistic features in one way and other speakers use that same set of linguistic features in a different way. Another possibility could be the case that the speech community has

a set of rules that incorporates the use of only one of these features. For example one set of rules could be comprised by the covariation of approach address forms. Another set of rules will be comprised by a completely different set of rules like the use of withdrawal forms by person of lower status to address a person of higher status (as the aunt in the previous example). Each set of rules have different linguistic features with specific rules. Both sets of rules are available to the speech community as a whole.

This definition of variation (as it was pointed out in the theoretical framework chapter) is then related to the community practices and not to individual uses. It also implies (following the notion that variation happens in regard to specific parameters), that variation was already taking place already in 18th century:

1. There is one set of rules applied by men, which consists on the use of nominal address forms and the subject pronoun *usted*.
2. There is another set of rules applied by women, which consists of the use of address forms (pronouns) with different pragmatic application: a. use of the *approach* pronouns between women of 1. same status (friends) or 2. address family members of a “less” central status (such as being a niece in the family); b. use of the *withdrawal* pronoun.

Then, following Suzanne Romaine’s definitions, it is possible to say that towards the end of the 18th century there were a series of rules available to the members of the speech community, shown by:

“...the existence of different norms of speaking and prestige attached to them as coexistent within the same speech community...” (Romaine, 1982: 22)

and they were already part of the linguistic competence of the members of the Central Valley speech community towards the end of the 18th century.

5.1.3 Century (Analysis by Letters)

The analysis based on the variable of century tries to look at the use and evolution of the grammatical categories over time. Analysis using the variable of century will be divided again into two sections: the first part of the analysis will deal with the study of the (administrative) letters and the second part will be focused on the analysis of the excerpts of the manuscripts. As it was mentioned before, the tendency shown in the letters differs from the tendency used in the

address forms displayed by the excerpts. These different tendencies in both groups justify the separation of the resources (see also note 3 in this chapter). The following table displays the frequencies of appearance of the address forms in all the internal (grammatical) variables considered. For this period (16th to 18th centuries), no tokens of the direct object category were found.

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	82	100	0	0	82
Determiner	8	100	0	0	8
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	47	85.45	8	14.54	55
Verb.	80	100	0	0	80

Table 5.4 Summary of the frequencies of the forms according to grammatical categories from the 16th century to the 18th century

As shown in table 5.4, in the period from the second half of the 16th century to the 18th century, **100% of the uses in the subject category correspond to the use of nominal address forms; this tendency stays the same throughout two and a half centuries.** From the 16th to the 18th century, the letters show a strong preference for nominal address forms over subject pronouns. This preference may be caused by the administrative nature of the letters. The more preferred forms are *Vuestra Señoría* ‘Your Lordship’ and *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’.

The same tendency is observed in the other grammatical categories, whose uses correspond in 100% of the cases to the nominal address forms, except for the indirect object category, which is the only category that shows uses for both the nominal form and the pronominal form (for the indirect object category, in this case): the nominal form, with the structure of *preposition + nominal address* form and the pronominal form *le*. Gradually, the use of the pronominal form increases: during the first half of the 18th century the indirect object for nominal forms decreases to a 71.42% and the pronominal form *le* increases to a 28.57% of the uses.

5.1.4 Century (Analysis by Excerpts)

The excerpts from the manuscripts offer a different view, mainly during the 18th century. The following table shows the tendency in the use of the grammatical categories that

deviates from the tendency showed in the letters¹⁰⁰. All the categories show higher percentages in the pronominal forms, particularly in the categories of subject, indirect object and verbs.

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	4	23.52	13	76.47	17
Determiner	1	10	9	90	10
Direct object	0	0	1	100	1
Indirect object	1	12.5	7	87.5	8
Verb	7	17.07	34	82.92	41

Table 5.5 Summary of the frequencies of the forms in the manuscripts according to the grammatical categories from the 16th century to the 18th century

Subject pronominal forms are more evident in the excerpts than nominal address forms, although both forms are present: use of *vos*, *vuestra merced*¹⁰¹ and *usted*. There is a division between the forms preferred in the collected letters, i.e. the nominal address forms, and the preference for subject pronouns in the manuscripts, mainly during the 18th century. The tendency in the increase of the use of the subject pronouns starts to escalate in the first half of the 18th century (*usted* 60%, *vos* 20%, *vuestra merced* 20%) and it is maintained towards the end of this century, with a clear preference for the pronoun *usted*. The pronoun *vos* shows the same proportion of use at the end of the 18th century (*usted* 40%, *vos* 40%, *tú* 10%), but still, there is a strong preference for the pronoun *usted* (also supported by the frequency in the higher percentage of verbs related to the *usted* during this century)¹⁰². This increased preference for the pronoun *usted* is important for the understanding of the evolution of *usted* because it makes it possible to appreciate (though only partially) the completion of the grammaticalization process

¹⁰⁰ Here, once more, it is emphasized the importance on analyzing separately the data obtained from the administrative letters from those obtained from the excerpts of the manuscripts, for this first period covering from the second half of the 16th century to the 18th century. The divergence can be appreciated through the separation of the resources. If the data were not separated, it would not be possible to appreciate that, in writing practices intended for communicative purposes at local (Costa Rica) level, the use of the address forms is different from those writing practices intended for the Spanish Crown or for administrative purposes related to the Spanish Crown. If those data would be analyzed together, then the tendencies shown in each practice would be very hard to differentiate. It would seem that there is no structure on the use, or, in other words, that “chaos” is the guiding principle in the address forms system, which is actually not the case.

¹⁰¹ In manuscripts of colonial times, the nominal address forms are usually written in abbreviated forms. It was the custom of writing at the time (*Vuestra Merced* appears written as *vmd*).

¹⁰² Chambers advocates for an understanding and examination of language change processes as a continuous phenomenon and not as a comparison between two points in time (Chambers 2002, 2004: 364).

of *usted*¹⁰³, with less frequent reference to a previous nominal form (e.g. *vuestra merced* ‘Your Mercy’), which can be seen as an indicator of the generalization in the use of the pronoun *usted*.

This road to generalization in the usage of the pronoun *usted* can be seen through the frequency of usage of *usted* in comparison to the frequency of usages of *tú* and *vos*. The following table displays the frequencies of usage of the mentioned pronouns through the 18th century (as it was said before, there are no records regarding personal pronoun usage previous to this century):

	Pronoun 1 st half 18 th C.	Percentage	Pronoun 2 nd half 18 th C.	Percentage	Total	Percentage
<i>Usted</i>	3	75%	4	44.44%	7	53.84%
<i>Tú</i>	0	0%	1	11.11%	1	7.69%
<i>Vos</i>	1	25%	4	44.44%	5	38.46%

Table 5.6 Frequency of personal pronouns during the 18th century

The table above indicates the frequency of use of the pronouns and it clearly indicates predominance in the use of the pronoun *usted* in comparison with the use of the other pronouns. These frequencies show a different pattern in the use of the pronoun *usted*. It makes clear that *usted* has completed (as in other countries in the Hispanic World) the evolution from *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’ to *usted*, a tendency that will take a step further with the semantic evolution of this pronoun (see chapter 6¹⁰⁴). *Usted* also shows a clear covariation with the pronoun *vos* which also displays an increase in the use as shown by the percentages displayed in the last column in Table 5.6.

In the general context of the manuscripts, it seems that there is a strong preference for formal expressions, nominal or pronominal, to express respect (withdrawal from the other

¹⁰³ Partial, as the semantic evolution is not completed yet, and, as it is argued in chapter 6, the semantic extension of the pronoun *usted* is considered part of the grammaticalization process of the pronoun.

¹⁰⁴ Chapter 6 addresses the process of grammaticalization of the pronoun *usted*, from *Vuestra Merced* to *usted*, including the further explanation of the process through which the pronoun *usted* expands its meaning, both from the perspective of the semantic change theory as well as the role that sociohistorical factors have played in the evolution of *usted*.

participant in the exchange), more than to mark hierarchy. The use of formal expressions may be already an indication of the use of the pronoun *usted* to indicate respect, but not formality¹⁰⁵.

The increasing preference for the use of *le* indicates less reference to the hierarchy or position that is implied by the use of the nominal address form; the use of *le* conveys less differentiation of the register. However, it can also mirror the parallel tendency in the decrease of the use of the nominal forms. Looking at the decrease of nominal address forms in the subject category, it is also possible to infer that the decrease of the indirect object constructed with the structure of *preposition + nominal address form*, also happened as a consequence of the reduction/disappearance of the nominal address forms.

Observation of the verbs also offers useful information regarding use of the pronoun. As a general pattern, the letters consistently display verbs in the formal second person, in this case accompanying the nominal address forms *Vuestra Señoría* ‘Your Lordship’ and *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’. Differently than the letters, the excerpts exhibit more varied forms. The excerpts display forms of *voseo* of the American and Peninsular Spanish types, and also verb forms related to the subject pronoun *usted*. In the verbal forms category, it is noticeable to see variation in the use of the verbs within the same turn, that is, variation between forms of *voseo*, *tuteo* and forms that could be related to both *voseo* and/or *tuteo*.¹⁰⁶ A closer look through these two centuries clearly shows the increase of the different verbal forms available to the Speaker/Writer. In the first half of the 17th century, the verbal forms refer solely to nominal forms, whereas the verbal forms employed during the second half of the 18th century display more variety:

	Pronominal	Percentage
usted	8	27.58
vos	6	20.68
tú	11	37.93
tv	3	10.34
peninsular vos	1	3.44
total	29	100%

Table 5.7 Verbal forms during the second half of the 18th century

¹⁰⁵ See chapter 6 for the full argument regarding the pragmatic factors that contributed to the evolution of *usted* and what causes the change and where does it occur, since the evolution goes beyond the point of just expressing ‘respect’ instead of hierarchy.

¹⁰⁶ It is important to remember that in the preterit, verbs both in *voseo* and *tuteo* display the same form: *vos comiste*, *tú comiste* (you ate). The same applies to those forms that, depending on the dialect, add –s in the preterit in second person singular: *vos comistes*, *tú comistes*.

From the table above it is possible to see that the verbal forms related to approach pronouns (*vos*, *tú* and *tv*) are the forms that add up for the highest percentage of use. The uses of *tú*, *vos* and *tv* forms add up for a total of 68.95% versus a 27.58% of uses of the pronoun *usted*.

It is also important to notice that the covariation shown in the verbs helps to illustrate that the fluctuation or covariation in the address form system should also be observed by looking at the other elements in the system, like verbs and other grammatical categories included in this study, and not simply through the frequency of the pronouns or nominal address forms in the role of subject. For example, for the above percentages given for verbal forms at the end of the 18th century, the percentages for the same period, for the subject, are as follows: nominal address form 10%, *usted* 40%, *vos* 40% and *tú* 10%. This information confirms the covariation of the pronominal forms and demonstrates the fact that the pronouns covariate. It indicates that the covariation could be actually higher than what the pronouns show. The pronoun *tú* as a subject shows a lower percentage than the verbal forms in *tú*; conversely the subject pronoun *usted* shows a higher percentage of use (40%), higher than the percentage of the verbal forms of *usted* form (27.58%). A simple word count of the subject pronoun *tú* or *usted* will miss occurrences of covariation. Only by incorporating verbal tenses and the other categories, can a complete picture be shown of all the occurrences of covariation.

Looking at the end of the 18th century (time variable), it is relevant to see that there is an increase in the covariation demonstrated by the verbal forms of the excerpts that is not present in the previous century, as well as an increase in the use of *usted* (both subject pronoun and verb) that seems to signal the further evolution and latter generalization of the pronoun *usted*.

The increase in the variation of the verbal forms in the second half of the 18th century reflects a state of variation in a specific point in time but in order to locate which variable (gender or generation) is prompting the variation, attention should be given to the variable of generation (next section) in order to see when and by which generation the linguistic change is also established, since age (or, in this case, generation) is the variable that will tell if change is happening or already happened. (Chambers 2002, 2004: 355). Nevertheless, in the context of studying letters and manuscripts for the presence of different linguistic forms in covariation Bergs (2005) made an important observation. In his study of the Paston letters he pointed out that, besides the grammatical constraints that can apply in the covariation of the forms, covariation is a multi-faceted phenomenon in which the use or non-use of certain forms is more a

matter of socially, psychologically and cognitively motivated choice. In other words, the selection or non-selection of certain forms follow pragmatic necessities (Bergs 2005: 263). It is believed that covariation, instead of constituting a paradigm of forms in conflict, “fighting” for supremacy (as it has been proposed by Penny 2000), the coexistence of different forms can be seen, should be seen, instead, as a repertoire available to the speaker to express him/herself following the pragmatic needs that may arise in a specific communicative context¹⁰⁷. The following excerpts illustrate that pragmatic need of the speaker:

(2)[**Aunt to female neighbour**: “estando en su cosina le oyó decir a la referida muchacha **handá (vos verb) vete (tú verb), quitate (vos verb)** de aquí, que tengo que hablar en secreto con Manuela y no conviene que vos lo **oigás (vos verb)**” [Being in the kitchen, (the witness) could hear her saying to the [previously] referred young woman “**Come on! (vos verb) Leave! (tú verb) Go away (vos verb)!** I have to talk about something secret with Manuela and it is not convenient that you listen (vos verb) to it.”]

The covariation in the previous paragraph is between the verbal forms in *vos* and in *tú* and all the uses fell into the *approach* category. The form in *tú* (**vete** ‘leave’) is the speech act that expresses more directly the action requested by the Speaker to the Hearer to leave the kitchen. This is a speech act expressed bald on-record without any regard to the negative face of the hearer. In this case, it happens in the context of someone who is known to the speaker and it is task oriented. The bald on-record action, can be, in this case, understandable.

Later on, in the same excerpt, the covariation between *vos* and *tú* is present again. The aunt is addressing the niece with *vos*, and the change to *tú* happens when the aunt expresses her thoughts by telling the niece she (the aunt) will tell the niece’s husband about her interest in the aunt’s husband:

(2)[**Aunt to niece**]: “...Y volviendo a replicarle le dixo yo bengo satisfecha de que los que estaban delante siempre he comunicado secreto y como cuñadas mías los han guardado, por lo que desde luego **voz fuiste (vos verb)**, por lo que vusco a tu marido para contárselo, porque así como le contaste (tv verb) eso a mi marido le **contarés (vos verb)** lo que yo te conté después, por lo que sabrá el tuyo, que **debes (tú verb)** de tener algún interés en el mío quando le **cuentes (tú verb)** lo que te dicen en secreto”. Villavieja, 1774.[“...And replying to her said, ‘I am very satisfied that I could trust the ones that were present because I have told them secrets (in the past) and as my sisters-

¹⁰⁷ Also, as it was pointed out before, the set of rules that apply to the same linguistic feature may differ within the speech community (Romaine, 1982).

in-law they kept them, therefore you **were (vos verb)** the one, I am seeking out your husband to tell him, because the same way you told (tv verb) that to my husband, the same way you are going to **tell (vos verb)** him what I told you after that (additional secret), so your [husband] will know that you **must (tú verb)** have some interest in mine [husband] since you **tell (tú verb)** [my husband] everything what is said to you as a secret'.']. (AN: CC 0342; fo. 3).

These two small examples exemplify communicative situations in which the covariation expresses communicative/pragmatic needs of the Speaker in a specific communicative context.

One particular aspect of the covariation of the verbs is the high percentage of the verbs in *tú* form (37.93%), This high percentage can be due to the level of education of the scribes (in elementary and formal education the teaching of *tú* has been preferred over the teaching of *vos*, even in recent times); it could also be due to the scribes following the writing customs of the time. The covariation displays as well forms in *vos* that are interspersed together with the *usted* (already grammaticalized form of *Vuestra Merced* 'Your Mercy'). The fact that those are forms that "passed" the filter of writing practice to appear at written level in trial manuscripts, could also be due to the fact that the scribe could have been an "escribano de pueblo" (local scribe)¹⁰⁸

The covariation in the verbal forms between the forms of *usted*, *vos*, *tú* and *tv* forms has to be observed carefully. The fact that significant percentages of covariation are present in the excerpts during the second half of the 18th century and cannot be shown in samples from previous periods does not mean that the change in the use of the verbal forms or the appearance of verbs in covariation comes from an abrupt change in the structure of language. Chambers has specifically pointed out that no change is spontaneous or abrupt, but the result of a gradual and constant process (Chambers 2002, 2004: 364 and ss). The current resources do not provide any further data to establish the (continuous) pattern of change. More data and texts are needed. Nevertheless, with the current information available it is possible to conclude that the covariation

¹⁰⁸ The figure of "escribano de pueblo" or local scribe has been previously mentioned by Cabal (1997) to refer to the scribe that performed duties at a very local level, but with very little training in scribal writing practices for administrative purposes. Usually it was a person appointed to perform those duties, with the necessary knowledge of reading and writing who taught himself some of the scribal practices to use in his position as a scribe. "Escribanos de pueblo" were a common practice in Costa Rica given the extreme level of isolation from the Spanish Crown in administrative and financial affairs during colonial times and the lack of official scribes (this is also written and certified in the colonial texts with the sentence "...a falta de escribano (legal) firmo yo....." [...due to the lack of a (legal) scribe, I sign.....].) This self-taught scribe may let pass, unnoticed, some aspects of language that would be noticed by some scribe with more "editorial" skills. On the other hand, it could also be the case that the variation was so common in the speech community that it went unnoticed even by "editorial practices" on the text. The term was provided to Cabal by Dr. Elizet Payne, of the School of History of the University of Costa Rica. (See Cabal 1997).

at the end of the second half of the 18th century was not spontaneous. This phenomenon requires the study of more resources.

5.1.5 Generation

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the generation variable distinguishes whether the W is older than R, if the W is around the same age as R, or whether W is younger than R. The gender of the interlocutors is also considered because it would help to determine if the generation variable works hand in hand with the gender variable or does not play a role. The analysis also considers if the participants in the exchange share family ties or not.

Family ties vs. no family ties

The data available from the 16th to the 18th centuries allow an examination using a distinction made between: (a.) generation and relationship between relatives and, (b.) generation and relationship between individuals who are not family members. From the letters gathered for this first period, just one letter reflects an exchange between family members (nephew-aunt) and thirteen letters represent the correspondence between individuals that are not family members. From sixteen excerpts, seven are not identifiable (it is not possible to establish if the participants in the exchange are relatives or not), six display an exchange between individuals that do not share family ties and three show the interaction between family members.

Taking into consideration the number of letters and excerpts, we find the following percentages:

	Family	Percentage	No Family	Percentage	No identifiable	Percentage
Letters	1	7.14%	13	92.85%	0	0
Excerpts	3	18.75%	5	31.25%	8	50%

5.8. Total of letters and excerpts: 16th to 18th centuries

5.1.5.1 Exchange between individuals that do not share family ties; Letters

The letters between individuals that are not relatives do not display any particular trait. All of the subjects are expressed through nominal address forms (*Vuestra Señoría*, *Vuestra Merced*, *Vuestra Reverencia* and *Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda*) and the verbs are consistent with these nominal address forms.

The only letter that reflects a family relationship between nephew and aunt, display nominal address forms (*Vuestra Señoría*) and a kinship term (*tía* 'aunt'), but not subject pronouns. The verbs are also consistent and agree with the nominal address forms.

The letters, as previously mentioned in the analysis of the other variables, do not display any variation in subject or verb categories, but **they do constitute a repertoire of nominal address forms with the same status that are consistent with the same verb form.**

5.1.5.2 Exchange between individuals that do not share family ties; Excerpts

The excerpts were divided in three categories:

- a. Exchange between individuals that do not share family ties.
 - b. Exchange between individuals that are relatives
 - c. Exchange in which the type of the relationship was not possible to establish.
-
- a. Exchange between individuals that do not share family ties

Two tendencies were identified. First, exchanges in which nominal address forms are employed with the corresponding verbs and second, exchanges that employed forms of *vos*, both peninsular and American *voseo* (as it is reflected by the use of monophthongal *voseo*; see Introduction Chapter).

In the first group, the interactions have in common that the nominal address forms employed are used to address a friar or priest. In the second group, the peninsular *voseo* is used by a soldier to address his captain; the peninsular *voseo* (with diphthong) is used by the owner of a farm to address a farm worker and also, it is used by a man (suitor) who is stating his interest in a woman. In both groups, the verb employed (peninsular or American) corresponds to the pronoun *vos*.

The tendency in the first groups seems to mark the use of nominal address forms to address a person (friar or priest); the pronoun *vos* is used in the other interactions that take place in exchanges where some vertical relationship is expressed (soldier to captain, farmer to a worker). From a pragmatic perspective, this use of *voseo* to indicate vertical relationships reveals that the use still corresponded to the peninsular use. As of that time it still had not developed as

an *approach* pronoun but kept the meaning as *withdrawal* pronoun as it was used in Peninsular Spanish.

b. Exchange between individuals that are relatives

Three excerpts show interaction between relatives. It was possible to establish that the persons involved in the exchange are relatives given the information provided in the text itself. Two out of three interactions show variation, either with the subject or with the verbal form. One of these interactions is the exchange between the niece and the aunt that was examined previously, with the clear use of more than one address form, thus marking variation clear. The other two excerpts complement each other and constitute, so to speak, a “whole unit”. Excerpt 14 is the first part of an exchange between brothers (one of whom is a priest) and the second part (E15) is the reply.

The first excerpt (E14) uses the form *usted*, both at pronoun and at verbal level:

“...tengo una nota que **Vd. Determina** hacer dejación de tres ramos de capellanía que son a su cargo [...] (como **Vd. Sabe**). Espero su respuesta en caso de que **concienta** (sic). [“I have a note in which **you (usted) state** (verb in usted form) that (you) are leaving three *ramos de capellanía* (charitable estates) that are under your care [...]) as **you (usted) know**). I wait for your answer in case you **agree** (verb usted form) Brother to Brother (also a priest). 1782. Archivo Nacional, PG 158, fo. 11)]

And the reply, excerpt 15 (E15) shows variation between *tú*, *tv* and *vosotros* forms. E15 also displays other uses (such as the indirect object pronoun *ti*), that clearly signals the use of *tú*.

“No hay duda que siendo cierto lo que **prometes** (tú form) de afianzar el caudal que **pretendes** (tú form) a satisfacción del Sr. Juez Real; **tienes** (tú form) mi consentimiento, como capellán que soy de él, y **puedes** (tú form) pasar a hacer el otorgamiento de escritura, tu hermano capellán...**estad advertido (vos form)** de que los trescientos pesos de capellanía que **pretendes** (tú form) tomar en ti son tres distintos ramos...[“There is no doubt that, given the fact that you promise to consolidate the wealth that you pretend, to the satisfaction of the Royal Judge, you have my approval, as I am its chaplain, you can bestow the deed, your chaplain brother.....be aware that the three hundreds pesos of the [charities] that you are pretending to take for you are three different [estates]...”] Brother (priest) to brother. 1782. Archivo Nacional, PG 158, fo. 11)]

In the exchange established between the brothers and reflected on E14 and E15 it is important to notice that in E14 the brother that is the hearer/reader is a priest and receives the *usted* form (both with the pronoun and verbal form) whereas when the priest brother replies to the brother who is not a priest receives verbs that are in *tú*, *tv* and *vosotros* form.

The excerpts in which the type of relationship was not possible to determine (if they were relatives or not) are not being analyzed since they offer no options for analysis from this perspective.

In summary, it is possible to see tendencies in this section that reinforce aspects already evaluated in the other variables. The letters (administrative in nature) use nominal address forms, even in the family letter, which is actually an administrative letter despite the fact that it is written between nephew and his aunt. Accordingly, it was possible to determine that variation was not present in letters, regardless of the type of relationship.

The excerpts show a different structure. The excerpts between individuals that are not relatives display the use of nominal address forms as well as forms of voseo (Peninsular and American), which reflects that there was a repertoire of forms available for contexts in which the individuals participating in the exchanges were not relatives, but address each other in contexts where verticality in the relationship was present. In the exchanges between relatives, following patterns already found in the analysis of other variables, it is found that in exchanges between relatives, pronominal address forms are used instead of nominal address forms. Variation between the forms of *tú*, *tv* and *vosotros*, and the *usted* form is present within the exchanges, both between the niece and aunt and the brothers. There are specific distributions in the use: e.g. one brother addresses his brother-priest with *usted* but not the other way around (asymmetric use).

5.1.5.3 Differences by generation

In this part of the analysis a distinction in generation is followed to determine if whether the W is older than R (e.g. parent/children, spouses), or the W is around the same age as R (e.g. siblings, friends, spouses), or whether W is younger than R (children/parent). In the analysis the

gender of the interlocutors is also considered because it would help to determine if the generation variable works in hand with the gender variable or does not play a role.

The following four distinctions are made for generation, as presented in Tables 5.8 and 5.9.

	Same gender	Different gender	TOTAL
Equal relationship	3	0	3
Non-equal relationship	10	1	11
TOTAL	13	1	14

Table 5.9 Number of types of interactions found in the data of the letters from the 16th to the 18th centuries

	Same gender	Different gender	TOTAL
Equal relationship	6	2	8
Non-equal relationship	7	1	8
TOTAL	13	3	16

Table 5.10 Number of types of interactions found in the data of the excerpts from the 16th to the 18th centuries

From these four generation distinctions, the generation characterized by equal relationship but in which both addresser and addressee belong to the same gender (both males) is the more frequent. Letters written between persons with equal relationship but of different gender could not be found.

The first type of relationship, unequal status between individuals of different gender is exemplified by one letter already analyzed in the section about family relationships between the nephew and his aunt, and the results of the analysis hold the same in the excerpts, we find one example of this type of interaction; the interaction is between a person representing the mayor of the city and a female neighbor. The form *usted* is used by the mayor, accompanied with the corresponding verb form.

(9) Aserri, 1768: “Dígale usted a su marido que dise el señor alcalde Monge que suspenda de sacar aguardiente.”(Archivo nacional: CC 0272, fo. 2) E10. [Tell **you** ‘**usted**’ to your husband that Mayor Monge asks him to stop producing liquor.]

There are no letters that represent an equal relationship between individuals of different gender. One excerpt from the manuscripts fit into this type of relationship, however. An example is presented in (14).

(14) Cartago, 1725: mi intento no es otro si no el ser **vuestro** esposo [...] y me **abisarés** con tiempo [...] **tu** esclavo que **tus** manos besa (Joseantonio Balerio) (Archivo de la Curia, c. 12, 1.5; fo. 19). E7. [My attempt is none other than to be **your** ‘**vuestro**’

husband and you will let me know with [enough] time....**your ‘tu’** slave that kisses **your ‘tus’** hands. (Joseantonio Balerio)]

These two examples show the use of both *vos* and *tv* form in a relationship characterized by the fact that the two individuals are equals in social standing. The first example, with forms of mixed *voseo*¹⁰⁹, is a relationship between boyfriend and girlfriend. It shows this form of mixed *voseo* with mixed forms of verbal *voseo* and the determiners (determiner *buestro* and *tu*, verb *abisarés*). In these excerpts (as in many others) there are no examples of subject pronouns. As it has been stated before, Spanish is a pro-drop language, and more often than not the documents and excerpts do not display any pronoun in the writing. The subject pronoun can be inferred through the ending of the verb. This demonstrates the importance of observing the pronoun not only through the subject category, but also through the use and frequencies of other grammatical categories.

5.1.5.3.1 Relationship not equal/same gender

The relationship between two individuals of the same gender but different social standing is the category with more samples: eight letters and seven excerpts from the manuscripts. In this case the gender of the individuals is male. No use of pronominal forms is found in the letters that display this type of exchange in which the individuals participating are of the same gender but of different standing. 100% of the uses correspond to nominal address forms. Within those nominal address forms, the highest percentage of use is *Vuestra Señoría* ‘Your Honor’ followed by the use of *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’. *Muy Ilustre Señor* ‘Very Reverend’ with 6.55% and *Su Majestad* ‘Your Majesty’ with 4.91%. Other nominal address forms used, all with a percentage of 3.27% is *Señor Gobernador* ‘Lord Governor’, *Señor Mío* ‘My Lord’, *Su Merced* ‘Your

¹⁰⁹ As explained in the introduction, the second person *vos* comes from the Latin and historically has undergone a very complex process. Originally, it was a form that was used in Latin for second person plural, ‘you all’. Later in Old Spanish (10th to 15th centuries), it started to be used to address a single person, with a verb that morphologically presented a diphthong in the conjugation of the verbs ending in –AR and in –ER (*vos trabajáis* ‘you work’, *vos coméis* ‘you eat’) and in a monophthong in verbs ending in –IR (*vos decís* ‘you say’, *vos vivís* ‘you live’). In the transition of the 16th Spanish to the New World, in the areas in which *voseo* survived, the outcomes of the verb were different. Some varieties of Spanish generalized the monophthongal *voseo*, as in Central America and Argentina and other varieties opted for keeping the diphthongal *voseo* (*voseo diptongado*) without the final –s (like in certain regions of Venezuela and Chile). Rafael Lapesa has a study on the evolution of the verbal forms related to *voseo* (Lapesa, Rafael. “Las formas verbales de segunda persona y los orígenes del ‘voseo’.” *Actas del Tercer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*. 519-531. Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico por la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, 1970.) When it is said “mixed *voseo*”, it is implied the use of verbal forms both diphthongal and monophthongal in the same text.

Mercy' *Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda* 'Your Reverend Paternity' and *Vuesa Reverencia* 'Your Reverence'.

The information given by the excerpts regarding the subject expressions for the interactions between participants of the same gender, not equal relationship, consistently shows that nominal forms (with some grade of grammaticalization, e.g. *buesençia*, *vmd*, *merced*) are favored, as is the pronominal form *usted*. In two cases, the form *vos* is used in this context in which the persons involved have a different social standing. This is the case in one example between male interlocutors and another one between female interlocutors. All the other interactions between males with different social standing display the use of *usted*, *vuestra merced* or *buesençia*, that is *usted* or nominal forms. **In this aspect, the excerpts also show a different tendency than the one shown by the letters.** The excerpts display only a few examples of the possessives, but the ones that are found (*su*, *tu*, *tuyo*) are consistent in use with the subject/nominal address forms to which they are related. Indirect objects are also present. There are few examples as well, but clearly there is a preference for the possessive form *le*. The excerpt that exemplifies the interaction between two males of different social standing, with the use of the pronoun *vos*, displays the use of the indirect object *le*, showing covariation between the subject pronoun *vos* with an indirect object pronoun *le* (related to *usted*). The excerpt that exemplifies the interaction between females of unequal standing is consistent in the use of the pronoun *vos* with the indirect object *te*; this suggests that **covariation might be present in interactions between males but not between females.**

The verbal forms are consistent in the correspondence with nominal address forms or pronominal forms. In the excerpts that show interaction between two female participants, both forms of *voseo* and *tuteo* are found in the verbal category, which also makes clear **that covariation is also present between females and not just between males as it was suggested above. This fact, then, indicates that the covariation may be triggered by a factor or factors other than different gender.**

5.1.5.3.2 Equal relationship and same gender

In this category, equal relationships between individuals of the same gender, three letters and six excerpts are found that illustrate this type of interaction.

The letters, as in the other categories, display a preference for the nominal address forms, particularly the form *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’. It is the most preferred, used in more than 50% of the examples.

Among the excerpts, six extracts are found from manuscripts that exemplify this type of relationship between people of the same gender and in equal social standing. Regarding the subjects, the excerpts do not display a significant number of subjects (either pronominal or nominal address forms). The verbal forms offer more information. Verbal forms accompanying *tú*, *vos*, *usted*, and *vosotros* forms are found in the excerpts of the manuscripts. **Observe that in the interactions between females with the same social standing *voseo* is used, while *voseo* is not found between males.** Women even show variation between *tú* forms and *voseo*. Males show the use of *usted* forms and *vosotros* verbal forms. Only in one interaction, between brothers, one finds covariation in the use of verbs in *tú* forms and verbs (a command) in *vosotros* form. In this aspect, the excerpts exhibit the different tendency that sets them apart from what is found in the letters.

The letters show that regarding the subject expression category, the type of relationship or gender between the interlocutors is not relevant. There is a preference in the letters for the nominal address forms, whereas the excerpts show a preference for the pronominal form *usted*.

The other category that shows relevant information is the category of verbal forms. In the letters, absolutely all cases are of verbs related to a **repertoire of nominal address forms**. The excerpts clearly show a more rich and varied approach. There are forms of verbs related to *usted* covarying with verbal forms in *tuteo* and *voseo*. **Interestingly, and based on the information available in these excerpts regarding the relationship between individuals with the same social standing and of the same gender, it seems that females are the only ones who use *vos* and covariate between *tú* and *vos*. Men are the only ones who use *usted* and when they covariate, they covariate between *tú* and *usted*. This type of covariation is not present in the other types of relationships.**

The next table summarizes the information presented in regard of the variable of generation.

	Same gender		Different gender	
	Letter	Excerpts	Letters	Excerpts
Equal relationship	No covariation	Covariation in both genders	No data available	Covariation in both genders
Non-equal relationship	No covariation	Covariation is present between individuals of the same gender	No covariation	No data available

5.11 Variation in regard to generation, 16th to 18th centuries

Based on the table above, it is possible to state that:

1. As with the other parts of the analysis, the letters display a different pattern of use for the address forms (nominal address forms) when compared to the excerpts (pronominal forms), which is a consistent results across the analysis of other variables.
2. Letters (of administrative character) do not show covariation, regardless of the type of relationship and/or gender of the individuals participating on the exchange. It seems that the nature of the administrative texts explains the absence of variation.
3. Excerpts display evidence of covariation in all the variable combinations for which data were available.

These facts justify stating that the covariation does not depend on any of the following variables: a. gender or b. type of relationship. The covariation does depend on the context in which the communication takes place, that is, is highly pragmatic in nature. As an example, it was shown how variation is absent in administrative texts but is present in other contexts that are not administrative, such as the contexts displayed by the excerpts.

The next section analyzes letters and some excerpts (as a contrast) that were written during the 19th century and the first forty years of the 20th century. For this period it was possible to find family letters. The following section, then, will be based in family letters and not in administrative letters. The excerpts are also taken from manuscripts and court documents (trials) that belong to the period under study.

5.2 Foreword. Section II. Family letters of the 19th and 20th centuries

This section focuses on the analysis of the data related to the 19th and the 20th centuries. The linguistic analysis of this second period considered internal linguistic variables within the framework of three external variables. The internal linguistic variables are:

- a. Subject pronoun (*tú, vos* and *usted*) and nominal address forms (when they appear, such as *Vuestra Excelencia, Vuestra Merced, Muy Ilustre Señor*) within the framework of three external variables.
- b. Verbal forms
- c. Determiners
- d. Direct and indirect objects

The letters, sixteen in total, have been analyzed according to three (external) variables, also considered for the first period (16th to 18th centuries):

1. Generation
2. Gender
3. Century (first half of 19th century, second half of 19th century and first half of 20th century).

The data were analyzed descriptively, the variables of gender and generation were analyzed independently and tokens were counted separately (see Appendix section). In the following qualitative analysis, though, both variables are going to be presented together, since age (generation) and gender are interspersed in the exchanges and cannot be separated. Variables, generation (age) and gender are going to be detailed around:

1. The type of relationship sustained between the participants in the exchange (according to the type of interaction it represents between writer and reader).
2. The type of interaction the exchange represents between the reader and the writer.
3. In terms of **face** in the exchanges.

The letters were divided as follows, according primarily to the type of relationship given between the participants in the exchange, together with the generation criteria, which are, as

stated before, divided into three groups. The third component taken into account in this analysis is the type of interaction:

Generation	Type of relationship	Type of interaction
Writer around the same age as the reader	Siblings (male siblings, brother to sister)	family matters, farm business, family requests, military commands, recommendations.
	Husband to wives	Saying farewell
	Neighbors (two fathers)	Resolution of family problems
	Acquaintances (around same generation of writers)	Debate over literature topics
	Friends	Congratulation letter, request to publish literary work,
Writer older than the reader	Mother to son	Family matters
	Unknown individuals	Recommendation
Writer younger than reader	Young soldier to his captain ¹¹⁰ .	Exchange during a battle (through retelling)

Table 5.12 Type of relationships and interactions according to generation (19th to 20th centuries)

The types of interactions are varied in nature. The type of interaction is defined by how the participants in the exchange interact in regard to the topic of the interaction or, better said, why are they interacting (reason for having the exchange). For example, L15 is mostly related to family matters; L16 is also related to family matters (favors and requests) but it is also related to business of the family's farm. L17 displays two types of interactions: the brothers exchange information regarding family matters, and also exchange information related to role of one of the brothers as a priest. L19 is a letter between two brothers in which the most part of the letters constitute military commands; little information about family issues is communicated.

¹¹⁰ This interaction also qualifies for writer older than the reader. It is a trial about the details of a battle and reflects both what is said by the young soldier to the captain and vice versa.

5.2.1 Generation, type of relationship and type of interaction

5.2.1.1 Letters written between siblings

5.2.1.1.1 Brother to sister

For the clarity of the exposition, the analysis will focus first on the subset of *letters between siblings*. As can be seen in the table below, out of four letters, three letters correspond to letters written from brother to brother and one letter from brother to sister. There are no letters available between sisters. The data do not present any information regarding the relative ages of the siblings.

Period	Rel: top>down	Rel: not equal, dif. gender	Rel: equal , dif gender	Rel: not equal, same gender	Rel: equal, same gender	Rel: down>top
1811-1820			Brother-sister (L16)		Brother -brother (L15)	
					Brother-brother (L17)	
1851-1860					Brother-Brother (L19)	

Table 5.13 Correspondence written between siblings, from the 19th to the 20th centuries

Descriptively, this first subset of letters shows that half of the letters do not have explicit subject pronouns; the other half displays the use of the pronoun *vos*, being the only subject pronoun used between siblings. The other linguistic categories also offer evidence of variation. As an example, the indirect and direct object categories show high uses of the pronoun *te*. In the case of indirect object the pronoun *te* (related to the *tú*, *vos* and *tv* forms) alternates with smaller percentage of the use of the *usted* form *le* (82.7% vs. 14.28%). In the direct object category, the *te* of the *tv* form is the more frequent, followed by the forms related to *tú* and *vos*.

The same tendency in the covariation is equally evident regarding the verbal forms and their conjugation with the corresponding patterns to **tú**, **vos**, and **usted**¹¹¹. The verbal forms have the *tú* forms and the *TV forms* with the highest frequency, both forms representing 85.70% and

¹¹¹ Brown and Gilman (as rephrased by Braun): “describe **spontaneous** switching to T as an expression of anger, or intimacy, and **spontaneous** V as an expression of respect, or of distance in the European literature of past centuries” (my emphasis, Braun : 16).

followed by the *usted* form with 9.52% and then by a low frequency in the use of *vos*, with a 4.76%.

From all other factors under consideration the direct object and the verbal forms are the elements with the higher frequencies and variation. In languages where the use of the pronoun is not obligatory, the verb is the only form to express the reference to the collocutor (Braun 1988: 8), and with facultative subject pronouns:

“...the verb is made the bearer of address, especially in those cases where the explicit use of a pronoun is inhibited by uncertainty or politeness.”
(Braun 1988: 8)

Given the rate of covariation present in the verbal forms, an explanation about the covariation and shift based on the verbal forms and the context in which they are present will be provided. Covariation, from the perspective of language change, has traditionally been seen as a phenomenon that shows that the linguistic factors under consideration are “competing” in use by the speakers:

“But closer examination of recent language development has revealed that, at any moment of time, a feature which is undergoing change is represented (in the community and in the speech of individuals) by two or more competing variants” (Penny 2000: 3)

In this study, however, the definition of variation presented by Suzanne Romaine has been favored over Penny’s notion. In the present analysis, variation is seen not as variants “competing” for use by speakers but as a coexistence of different norms used by speakers within a speech community as a part of its linguistic practices.

For an explanation of the variation and shift in the address forms, it is proposed that the shift is possible due to a negotiation of face, between **positive and negative face**, therefore the writer (speaker) varies in the election of the address form (presented as pronoun or in the verb as bearer of the address form) as a way to negotiate the space of communication and moving him/herself within the spectrum of face. The following letter provides linguistic evidence to demonstrate the shift from one pronoun to another (either in the form of a subject pronoun or in the verb as a bearer of the form). The letter is the letter written by Miguel Bonilla to his sister Juana Bonilla. The type of relationship between them is one between siblings, of different gender. The male sibling is the writer and the female sibling is the reader. From the context of

the letter it is not possible to determine if the brother (who is the one writing) is older than the sister. The types of interaction they sustain are multiple. In his letter, the brother addresses his sister regarding to two different topics. On one hand, he instructs her in matters related to the farm and; on the other hand, he requests of her some personal favors.

(8) Carta de Miguel Bonilla a su hermana Juana Bonilla:

Mateo, 18 de mayo de 1812

Mateo, May 18th 1812

*Igualmente **mandarás** [TV] entregar doce [pesos] al Padre don Feliz*

Equally you will request to give twelve [pesos] to the Priest Feliz (sic)

García; a saber diez de los 60 pesos que me prestó

García, that is, ten out of the sixty pesos [he] loaned me

Y dos de María del Rosario, quien te dará la

And two of María del Rosario, who is going to give you

Obligación mía; y últimamente los restantes a don

My part, and lastly, what is left [of the money] to

Manuel Escalante por cien pesos de que también le

Mr. Manuel Escalante, because of one hundred pesos that

Otorgué vale.

I gave him

(...)

In the previous paragraph, the verb displays a **TV form**. The letter is written in the context in which the brother is asking his sister to do some transactions (to give some money to the priest). The brother then is asking his sister to perform transactions related to the farm, which **is an interaction whose topic is administrative in character**. His face in this context is not at risk because he is going on record with his request, stating what he wants unambiguously, after a long introduction. By going on record, the speaker can give instructions and recommendations about what to do.

Towards the end of the letter the writer makes a shift to **usted**, when asking personal information of the reader (if she received what she needed) and when asking for a favor. It is proposed that this shift in the election of the address form is a way to negotiate face and a way to construct identity.

Brown and Levinson established the concepts of positive and negative face, which they defined as follows:

“Face, the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects:

- a. Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction-i.e. freedom to action and freedom from imposition.
- b. Positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61)

In this example the W (Writer) moves from an instance of negative face (acting freely by asking his sister to do some transactions) to a positive face (when asking for personal information and asking for a favor). By making the shift to **usted**, the W acts non imposingly over the reader, and this action, presumably, will be appreciated by the reader which will reinforce writer's positive face (writer is not imposing on reader's face) and this action, therefore, will contribute to keep writer's face.

Various authors have defined face in relation with the concept of the self (Goffman 1955, Brown and Levinson 1987, Spencer-Oatey, 2007). In either an explicit or implied way, there is common agreement in the consideration that face occurs because of the "other". Face cannot take place in isolation. Because of the relation and interaction between Writer/Speaker (W/S) and Reader/Hearer (R/H), it is clear that in the interaction an establishment of identity takes place (identity of the W/S and identity of R/H). Spencer-Oatey has pointed out this relationship between identity and face and explores the relationship between both of them based on approaches taken from social psychology.

Spencer-Oatey, based on Campbell 2006, defines self as:

"The self-concept is a multi-faceted, dynamic construal that contains beliefs about one's attributes as well as episodic and semantic memories about the self. It operates as a schema controlling the procession of self-relevant information". (Campbell at Spencey-Oatey 2007: 640)

In addition, the notion of the self includes a set of beliefs that are related to many aspects of the individual (Spencer-Oatey based on Simon 2004) and those are, among others, social roles (doctor, nurse), language affiliation, group memberships (male, female, catholic), ideologies (democrat, republican). The same individual can, therefore, construct the self and a different self, based on any of these traits. That is, you have a face to keep as a doctor and a different one as a

wife, or sister. Your identity is constructed in each of these instances, and therefore face and identity are connected, as Spencer-Oatey demonstrates¹¹².

Back to the analysis, what is the purpose of working to negotiate face with relatives and/or family members? It is proposed that, as in the example under consideration, the shift takes place when the W/S constructs and works on his face and makes the shift to present a self that performs a different identity, and how the W/S presents the self to the R/H. The linguistic feature or tool the W/S possesses to indicate those changes and negotiate face is through the shift from the TV form to the **usted** form.

Another consideration for the face-work assumed by the W/S is the fact that family relationships have a historical component (semantic memories about the self), as well as semantic memories about the other. These are historical relationships that cannot be risked, therefore, the face work takes place to keep all the identities and faces (personal self, interactional self and collective self).

*(8) Dígame [ud] si Don Santos les ha dado lo
You (usted) tell me if Mr. Santos has given you
Que necesitaban, y encomiéndemelo [ud] mucho, y al
What you needed and commend (usted) him, to
Padre Don Pedro, y demás amigos: al Padre García
Father Pedro and other friends: [message] to Father García
Fo.2.v./ No me detengan a Ventura ni a Tames, si-
Do not hold up Ventura or Tames, but [let them]
No que vuelvan prontamente y traigan mi mu-
Come back soon and [make them] bring my mule
La con viscocho, y no se le olvide [ud] mandarme
With bread [sort of bread or little cake] and do not forget (usted) to
send me
También más papas , y medio de frijoles, el
More potatoes and half [a sack] of beans, the
Vasito de aceite de cabima, y algunos tabacos.
Little jar with “cabima” oil and some tobacco.
Beso tus manos tu [TV] amante hermano Miguel Bonilla
Kiss your hands, your (tu, TV) loving brother Miguel Bonilla.*

¹¹² Spencer-Oatey points out “Brewer and Gardner (1996:84) argue that three different levels of self representation need to be distinguished: the individual level, the interpersonal level, and the group level. At the individual level, there is the ‘personal self’, which represents the differentiated, individuated concept of the self, at the interpersonal level, there is the ‘relational self’, which represents the self-concept derived from connections and role relationships with significant others; and at the group level, there is the ‘collective self’, which represents the self-concept derived from significant group memberships”. (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 641).

In this example, then, the W/S moves from the role of administrator to the role of brother and a person asking a personal favor. Therefore his identity of self changes from the role of administrator to the role of a brother. The type of interaction here is of different character: the brother is requesting a personal favor or stating personal requests. This move through the spectrum of face is expressed and navigated through the shift of the form (from *TV* to *Usted*), and at the end of the letter, when the favors have been already requested, the W comes back to the *TV* form. This last shift from *usted* to the *TV* form, although still an interaction between brother and sister, the brother has finished with requests and does not feel the need to keep the same face and identity as needed when he was requesting personal favors. This interaction as a brother has ceased and he then returns to his previous face as an administrator, and thus he shifts again to the *TV* form.

5.2.1.1.2 Letters written between brothers

The next letter was written between two male brothers (relationship). The letter also shows variation, although the variation in this letter shows less “shifts” than the other letters. It is interesting to point out that the shifting and variation is more frequent in exchanges in which one of the participants was female (see below letter from mother to son). The type of interaction is also multiple in this letter and that motivates the shift in the use of the pronouns displaying, in that way, variation in the use of the address forms. Different topics are communicated.

*Carta de Hipólito Calvo a Carmen (hombre)/Letter from Hipólito to Carmen (a male individual)*¹¹³

Section 1. Tú and tv forms

The letter initiates with the use of *usted*, but this is only in the introductory greeting sentence. Immediately, the writer changes to *tv* and to *tú* forms employing in this first section both behavitive and exercitive type of verbs. The behavitive verb is employed to express

¹¹³ In the analysis of this letter in particular, verbs that without any doubt are verbs in *tú* form (*puedes, encuentras*) are classified as *tú* forms. The other verbs are classified as *tv* forms for the identical morphology that can exist between verbs in *tú* or in *tv* forms (*estés, gosas*). The shifts in the address forms are then made specifically, in this letter, between *tú/tv* forms (treated as one) vs. other forms (*usted* or *vos*). The alternation between *tú* and *tv* forms happens between even the same type of speech acts. It can be considered that they are all *tú* forms, but in order to keep consistency with previous analysis, they are classified as *tú* and *tv* forms, but for analysis purposes they are treated as one category in this letter and in the following letter.

congratulations to his brother for taking the holy orders; still employing *tv/tú* forms, the writer establishes in sequence a series of interactions, addressing different topics. With the use of exercitive verbs he advises his brother (line 4), provide him with instructions about what to do in regard to becoming a priest (line 12); also advice is provided in regard to dealing with debts and money he is sending to pay for these debts (line 22); also a request to find a clockmaker is made. At the end of Section I, more instructions are provided in regard, again, to paying debts and a bill of exchange he is sending with that purpose (line 22). With these types of speech acts, what is expressed and done by the writer implies an Face Threatening Act (FTA) to the negative face of the reader, impeding the reader's freedom of action and making the reader to incur some type of emotional debt (congratulation that should be somehow returned). The pronouns or verbs in *tú/tv* forms are used with this intention. In the next section 1 (first part of the letter quoted) forms in *tv* and *tú* are marked in bold:

- Cartago, Noviembre 5 de 1813
 (9) *Querido Carmen, ya **puede (usted)** echar de ver quan com-* (1)
 Dear Carmen, you can see how plea-
*Placido quedo, así porque **gosas (tv form)** de salud, como porque*
 sed I am, because you are healthy as well as
***Pones (tv form)** en práctica mis consejos y **satisfaces (tv form)** a mis decesos*
 Because you put into practice my advice and satisfy my wishes
Que creo que no irán errados; puesto que se dirigen só- (5)
 That I think are not wrong after all, since they are intended
Lo al bien y seguridad tuya, al servicio de Dios, y
 Just for your good and safety, for God's service
En ninguna manera al provecho o interés mío
 And in any way for my benefit or temporal interest
Temporal, pues para vivir, vestir y llenar el estó-
 Since for living, dressing and have a full
Mago no faltan medios, y quiere la Providencia Di-
 Stomach there are enough resources and as it has been intended by
Vina que nuestra casa no necesite estos medios para (10)
 The Divine Providence our home does not need any other
Sostenerse, como lo hemos visto asta la fecha.
 Resource to sustain itself, has we have seen so far.
*Mucho me alegre **vistas (tv form)** los hábitos, y entiendo que*
 I am very glad that you are taking the holy orders and it is my understanding
*Tu intención en aquella advertencia que me **hiciste (tv form)***
 Now that your intention in that warning you made to me
No va errada; pero ella misma me dio motivo a
 Was not wrong, but it also gave me an excuse to
Decirte algo al caso, esto es sobre escribir al Canó- (15)

Tell you something about it, it is about writing to the Canon
Nigo y hablar al cura; ahora cin apartarme
 And talk to the priest; now, speaking without setting
*De lo dicho digo que está bien que quando **trate s(tv form)** de*
 Aside what I have said, I think that it is good that, when you think about
*Órdenes te **presentes (tv form)** a alguna administración có-*
 Holy orders to attend to, you decide yourself for one that is comfortable
Moda y cercana, y es obrar con prudencia elegir
 And nearby, that is to choose with prudence
Un lugar grato a la salud, y cerca de los propios, (20)
 For a place that it is pleasant to the health, and close to the family
Y eso nada tiene de malo, para lo que ya he hablado
 There is nothing wrong with that, I already talked
Al padre Rosa, y él promete interesarse.
 To Father Rosa and he has promised to do something about it.
*Para lo que **debes (tv form)** te va la libranza de treinta pesos*
 For the quantity you owe, I am sending you a bill of exchange for thirty pesos
Ai en León, y otra contra el Padre Bonilla cura de Na-
 For León, and another for Father Bonilla, priest of
*Daime de veinte y cinco pesos para que no **eches (tv form)** menos* (25)
 Nandaime for twenty five pesos, so that you are not short in money
*Lo necesario para sostenerte, y **ten (tú form)** presente lo limi-*
 To sustain yourself, keep in mind how limited are
Fo.1.v./tado de mis facultades, y de este género en Cartago
 My resources, here in Cartago
*Te digo esto porque **atiendas (tú form)** sólo a lo más preciso, vi-*
 I tell you this so that you use the Money for the basic things
*En entiendo que no **eres (tú form)** desperdiciado, y sabes usar*
 I do understand that you are not wasteful, and that you know how to use
*De los reales, ya **sabes(tv form)** que yo no tengo libros, y no* (30)
 the Money, you know I do not have book keeping, and I do not
Los tengo porque siempre he estado a tirones, y lo que
 Have them because I have always been at the end of the rope financially
He aprendido solo ha sido porque me valgo de présta-
 And I what I have learned has been because I learned about loans
Mos, conozco que es tequío; pero la necesidad caret
 I know it is a nuisance, but the necessity *caret lege* (the necessities do not follow
 the law)
Lege, y no me atrevo a tratar de brevarios
 And I do not dare to talk about the breviary
Porque no ai como hablar, y así pasiensia, y pru- (35)
 Nothing like talking too much, so, patience and pru-
Dencia.
Dence.
*En este correo no va nada de lo que **encargas (tv form)**, y así*
 In this mail, nothing of the things you requested is in there

Ni el entremesillo, porque aviendo perdido los mucha-
Not even the “entremesillo” because the fellows lost the paperwork

Chos los papeles no a avido tiempo de copiarlos, y
And there was no time to copy them
Haré que en el venidero valla todo. (40)

I will make sure that in the next mail, everything will be sent.
Ve (tú form) si ai en esa ciudad algún relozero que me com-
Look in that city for a clockmaker that can fix
Ponga el mío grande de campana que tiene una
My big watch of bell that has a piece
Pieza descompuesta, y no ai aquí más que tío Cha-
In not working condition, here just uncle Chavarría can fix it
Varría cabeza destornillada, y si es una pieza
And he does not know where his head is, if it is just one piece
Las descompuesta és las descompone todas; aví- (45)

That does not work, he breaks all pieces;
Same (tú form) para mandártelo el verano, pero ve (tú form)
Let me know to send it to you over summer, but make sure
Que no sea perderlo todo, ya sabes(tv form) que en él tengo
That does not get lost, you know that I paid for it
Cinquenta pesos.

Fifty pesos.
La libranza que dixe arriba va de encargo a don
The bill of Exchange that I said before is in charge of Don
Antonio Mansilla, por medio de don Joaquín Oria- (50)

Antonio Mansilla, through Don Joaquín Oria-
Muno, esto es, la de treinta pesos; y así puedes (tú form) presen-
Muno, that is, the one by thirty pesos; that way you can
Tarte a él con el seguro que los entregará, le puedes (tú form)
Go to see him reassured that he will give you the thirty pesos, you can
Decir que yo te he escrito que no don Joaquín li- (53)
Say that I wrote the letter and not don Joaquín (the

Section 2. Shift to vos

In the previous section I, the first part of the letter (before a shift in address pronoun is made) finishes with a series of instructions with the use of the *tú* form. After providing a series of instructions in *tú* form (previous section) the writer makes a change to *vos* form (in this section), both in subject pronoun and in the verbal form. The interaction in this section turns into a speech act in which the writer is somehow doing some rebuke or reprimand to the reader, but not in a negative way. The writer is telling the reader that something (the pay of the debt) could have been done differently (line 55). Since the writer is doing an FTA to the positive face of the reader (by expressing a reprimand and therefore, the writer is disapproving what the hearer did or

could have done). By shifting to an approach pronoun (*vos*) and paying attention to the positive face of the reader, coming closer to hearer, and treating him as an in-group member, the writer is trying to minimize the FTA. The shift in the pronoun then, it is related to the face that both interactants, (but particularly in this case the writer) are interested in maintaining:

Branza, porque bastaba que vos pidieses (vos form) el dinero, y (55)

Bill of Exchange) because it was enough having you asking for the money

Fo. 2/ *dieses (vos form) el recibo, pues estaba cierto que no te falta-*

And giving a receipt, I was sure that you will not miss it

Ría, y avisarás (tv form) a vuelta de correo. Este dinero lo

And you will let me know as soon as you could. This money

Da mi padre y Gregoria. (58)

is given by my father and Gregoria.

Section 3. Shift to *tú/tv*

In this section of the letter, the writer returns to the form *tú* (line 64); the interaction sustained in this section is about making more requests and expressing congratulations for the type of social network the brother is establishing in his new place. In this case, the change in the type of interaction (making more requests and congratulating) implies also a different relationship between W and R, and this change in the interaction is signaled with the change of the address form (lines 64, 65). The writer is performing speech acts that threaten the negative face of the reader, impeding his free will by making specific requests. The use of the *tú/tv* forms, the speech acts that are performed and the way in which face is treated, are closely related:

Con ser cura de los tres pueblos, Duraznos, A-

Being the priest of three towns, Duraznos, A-

Nonas y Aguacates, me veo precisado a escribir al (60)

Nonas and Aguacates, I see myself in the need of writing

Ylustrísimo señor asuntos de ellos, y estando ocupado en

To His Grace about some delicate matters, and being busy

Varios cuidados, no puedo alargarme más, fuera

With other business, I cannot extend this letter more, besides

De que ya no me queda cosa digna de atención,

The fact that I do not have anything else worth to mention but

Sino es que me pongas (tv form) a la disposición de don Pedro Cé-

That you tell don Pedro Céspedes and his wife that I am at their

Sar y su esposa; y mucho me alegro tengas (tv form) trato (65)

Disposition, I am very glad that you have a familiar relationship

Section 4. Shift to vos

In this section, the writer expresses assertively a statement that displays an interest in the reader and in the positive face of the reader. Also, the writer makes a suggestion, through an exercitive type of verb, regarding the new social network the brother is establishing. Since the suggestion constitutes a threat to the negative face of the hearer, in order to minimize the FTA, the writer pays attention to the positive face of the hearer, trying to approach the H, using a pronoun that will make the writer closer to the writer. The pronoun employed for that purpose is the pronoun *vos* (line 70).

With the shift from *tú/tv* from the previous section in which the negative face of the reader was threatened, to the use of *vos* and the subsequent attention is given to the positive face of the hearer (para vos, sabelos pues conservar, lines 69, 70).

Familiar con ese caballero don Vicente Ycasa y su (66)
With that gentleman don Vicente Ycasa and
Esposa conoxco a estas personas aunque ellos no me
His wife, I know these people although maybe they
Conocerán, son de un carácter mui amable, y es-
Do not know me, they are very kind and I am
Toy seguro de la sinceridad de su cariño para vos.
Sure about their sincerity in the care they provide to you
Sabelos (vos form), pues, conservar, pues es dicha en tierra es- (70)
Know how to keep this friendship, since it is very fortunate
Traña encontrar este auxilio, mucho te puede conve-
To find this type of help in a foreign land, it can be very
Nir; mucho me alegro que lo demás te miren bien
Convenient for you, I am very happy that everybody approves [of] you

Section 5. Shift to tú/tv

The writer shifts back to *tú/tv* form when expressing some emotions and making some requests that, again, are related to the way face is maintained in this part of the interaction: a FTA to the negative face of the reader, using speech acts that are performed through the use of exercitive verbs *no encuentres, saludame*, lines 74,75.....), since they are requesting or telling the reader what to do. Again, it is possible to see a correlation between the type of speech act (and the type of verbs employed), the type of interaction (requesting, expressing emotions towards the hearer) and the way in which face is treated.

Y que no encuentres (tú form) ausencias nuestras malas, todo
And that you do not feel our absences, everything is going in your

*Cede en bien tuyo. **Salúdame (tv form)** a la Rosario, a Rosa-* (75)
 Benefit. Give my greeting to Rosario, to Rosa-
Lía su hija y a Juliana la otra, a los demás que
 Lía her daughter and to Juliana the other daughter, and to the other people
Se acordaren de mí.
 That remember me.
Nuestro Señor te llene de bendiciones y te que ms.as.
 Our Lord bless you,
 Tu affectísimo hermano.
 Your caring brother
 Hipólito Calvo [rubricado] (80)

Letter from José Antonio de Bonilla to his brother Santiago de Bonilla.

This letter offers more difficulties in the analysis. The letter is written from one brother to another brother. As in the previous letter, the text does not offer any information regarding who of the participating individuals is older. Since the type of relationship is between siblings the gap in age should not be extremely different. As for the type of interaction established between the brothers, throughout the letter it is possible to see that it is about business or business-like matters of the family. The letter is mostly written in verbs that have no subject pronoun attached to them, and in just in one case (due to the morphology of the verb) it is possible to determine that the verb is written in the *tú* form.. Therefore, with the only exception of this verb, all verbs are evaluated as having the category of *tv/tú* forms. This letter shows just one instance of variation between the *vos* and the *tú/tv* forms.

Section 1. Use of *tv form*

This first section, brief as it is, employs an expositive verb (*indicas*, line 4), in the *tv* form and the interaction with the reader is limited to a greeting and sharing of information. The speech act is very straight forward and does not imply any type of FTA for the reader.

(10)Fo. 1./Señor don Santiago de Bonilla, Cartago Septiembre Años 11. (1)
 Sir Santiago de Bonilla
Mi estimado hermano: contexto la tuya de agosto
 My dearest brother: I answer (your letter) of August
Y digo: que hasta hoy no me resuelto a tomar a Ma-
 And say that up until today I have not decided yet

Teo, por los motivos que me indicas (tv form); y más en un lu- (4)
To go to Mateo, for the reasons you explain me, and mainly

Section 2. Shift to pronoun vos.

This section, also extremely brief, is where the pronoun *vos* is employed. The pronoun is used as a subject pronoun. The use of the pronoun comes through the linguistic use of an expositive verb, making a statement (*mi madre dice* 'my mother says...'). Although the interaction is around business (specifically, about money), family ties are mentioned (*mi madre dice* 'my mother says..'). The use of the approach pronoun *vos* is made in the only part of the letter where family ties are mentioned. Through the choice of the *vos* pronoun (line 5), the writer is coming closer to the reader, paying attention to his positive face, treating him as a in-group individual, obviously, due to the sibling relationship.

Gar de robos. Mi madre dice que por estar voz (sic) tras- (5)
it is a place of robbery. My mother says that given the fact

Section 3. Shift to tv form

In this larger section, the writer returns to the *tv* form in a section of the letter where the interaction returns to business again. The writer expresses some requests and commands to the reader through the use of exercitive verbs. It also exerts some pressure on the reader (*te suplico que estés* 'I beg you to pay close attention', line 11). The shift to the *tv* form signals his return to the type of interaction in which business matters are dealt with. Through these requests, commands and exerting pressure on the reader, the writer is doing a FTA to the negative face of the reader and through this section the writer does not attempt to minimize the FTA.

Mano, no te lo da a cuidar, y que le mandes (tv form) el sobran-
That you are not around, she will not send the Money to you and that you should
send her
Te del dinero para socorro en la escasez, que una fane-
The Money that is left in a time of shortages, that in order to bring
Ga de mais es necesario 3 bestias para traerla desde
3 bushels of corn, 3mules are needed in order to carry them from
Santiago, y viene de hilote, que salen 18 medios por
Santiago, and now it is very convenient, since you can buy 18 halves by
3 pesos 4 reales y dura 6 días. Ya yo llevo compradas 10 (10)
3 pesos 3 reales and it lasts 6 days. I already bought 10
Fanegas, y para hoy no hay.

Búshels and there are none for today
Te suplico estés (tv form) a la mira del hato, no se
 I beg you to pay careful attention to the herd, so that

Section 4. Use of the *tú* form

In this part of the letter, the writer clearly shows the use of the *tú* form through an exercitive verb (line 12). Differently than in the previous section, the use of an exercitive verb in this context signals a sort of warning or reminder, which is also a FTA to the negative face of the reader: through the reminder, the writer is impeding freedom of action on the reader (lines 12 to 15). As it can be seen, more than the type of the verb, what decides the shifting is more the type of interaction than the verb, although the verb, obviously channels the type of interaction that is needed. But more than the type of the verb (exercitive) what determines the change is what is being communicated or what is being done through that specific type of verb (or speech act: a warning, a reminder).

Acave de perder, pues eres (tú form) hijo y saves (tv form) las necesidades(12)
 It does not get lost, you are the son and you know the needs
De esta familia.
 Of this family.
Aquella cuenta que formé con mi madre, he hize 2
 That account that I created with my mother, and I did another 2
De un tenor y una por mano de Cárdenas, te la incluí a (15)
 With specifications, and another one through Cárdenas, I included it
Bagazez en el tiempo de mi pleito, para que se la
 In Bagaces by the time I was in court, so that you could

Section 5. Use of *tú/tv* forms

This last section of the letter goes back to *tú/tv*. In regard to the type of interaction, it goes back to dealing with business. The writer uses exercitives and expositives types of verbs. Through the expositive verbs, information and news are shared (*me respondiste, ya la havías mandado*, lines 17, 18) ; with the exercitive verbs requests (*me los mandarás, me le harás*, lines 24, 41) and suggestions (*que cuides*, line 46) are performed, constituting in that way, FTAs to the negative face of the reader. No attempt is made to repair or minimize the FTA.

Fo.1.v. *emitieras (tv form) a mi madre, y me respondiste (tv form) al Viejo*(17)
 Send it to my mother and you answer me to El Viejo
Que ya la havías mandado (tv form), me dice mi madre y Juana,
 That you already sent it, my mother and Juana with
Con Justa, que tal cuenta no la mandaste (tv form) ni la han

Justa say that such account you did not send it
Visto jamás, lo mismo dicen de los recibos que te re- (20)
 And that they have never seen it, they say the same about the receipts
Mití firmados; pues todos los otros papeles míos los
 That I sent you with my signature, all the other paperwork
Tenía guardados mi madre, y éstos, ni don Tomás ni
 Was kept by my mom, and these document, not even don Tomás
*Ninguno de casa los ha visto. Y los **has de tener** (tv form)*
 Or anybody at home has seen them, you must have them.
*Hay, y **me los mandarás** (tv form) para no tener que hacer en*
 And you will send them to me so that I do not have to do them
Los sucesivo. Mi madre ba a hacer su codicilo en (25)
 Again in the future. My mother was about to write her codicil (will)
Que declara que si a su fallecimiento gozare algunos bie-
 In which she declares that, if by the time of her death, she still has some assets
Nes, se mejoren con ellos sus hijas mujeres.
 That those should be given to her female children.
El padre Miguel se dijo venía de Nicaragua y en
 Father Miguel said he was returning from Nicaragua
Este correo vino a este vicariato un comparendo del Obispo
 And with this mail arrived a document from the Bishop
En que le dice que si acaso hubiese llegado a esta ciudad el padre (30)
 In which it is said that in case Father Miguel would come to this city
Don Miguel, que le intime, para que sin excusa salga dentre 8 días
 He should be urged to leave without any excuse and in a period of 8 days
Para Palacagüina, para donde lo tiene destinado.
 To Palacagüina, where he has been assigned.
Sin duda se lo mandó el Obispo, y lo desobede-
 Without any doubt it was sent by the Bishop and he disobey him
Ció y mi madre está afligida. Ba la copia de la Real
 And my mother is very concerned. I am sending the loyal
Fo.2/Cédula del padre Bonilla. Murió el padre Carranza en (35)
 Warrant of Father Bonilla. Father Carranza died
Ousulután. E l negocio de apelación de mi artículo
 In Ousulután. The situation of the appeal of my article
A Ciudad Real nada ha resultado hasta ahora. Las
 To Ciudad Real has not provided any results yet. The
2 mulas que dejé en Zapoá, murieron, y el tordillo en
 Two mules that I left in Zapoá died and the spotted horse in
Mateo, y tengo que buscar para el viaje esas 3 bestias. Es
 Mateo and for the trip I have to look how to replace those three animals.
ta tierra está invivible por activa y pasiva. (40)
 It is impossible to live in this land, too active and too passive.
*Al Padre Carrillo me le **harás** (tv form) una visita, por ser*
 Pay a visit to Father Carillo, he is a very strong
Clérigo maziso y de mi garabato, que he visitado a sus

Priest and he has all my sympathy, I paid a visit to his
Hermanas, y que haré bien de estar en soledad te solitudo
 Sisters, and it will be good for me to be in solitude
Recreat.
Retreat.
Por acá dan 2 libras de carne por un real, te lo aviso para (45)
 Here they are paying one real for two pounds of meat, I am letting you know
Que cuides (tv form) tu ganado. Los réditos que debe la Corrales se
 So that you take care of your cattle. The interest owed by the Corrales woman
Pierden; porque la escritura de Amerique no pareció; pu
 Are getting lost because the document of Amerique did not appear, well
Es aquí no hay más que confusión en esta casa, y la bulla
 There is a lot of confusión in this house and the noise is such
Es tal, que ni el oficio se puede rezar, y solo un aburrido
 That it is even impossible to pray and just a bored person
Puede venir a esta costa. Tus hijas y mujer están (50)
 Would come around here. Your daughters and wife
Buenas, y se te encomiendan, y a don Joaquín como tam-
 Are fine and they trust on you, same Don Joaquín, also my mother
Bién mi madre y niñas, y a Dios que te que ms. As. Tu
 And the girls, and God.
Hermano amante José Antonio de Bonilla [rubricado]. (53)
 Your loving brother José Antonio de Bonilla

The letters between male siblings display less variation in comparison to the other family letters in which a female individual is involved. It seems, based on the frequency of variation in the letters in which writer or reader is a female, that women are the ones that promote or trigger new uses in the language, following the statement already established in sociolinguistics regarding the role of women in the use and innovation of the language.

Letter from Juan Rafael Mora to his brother the General José Joaquín Mora

This last letter between male siblings does not show any variation in the address forms and verbal forms employed. The letter is written with *tv* forms. From the two brothers, Juan, the writer, is the older brother (born 1814) and José Joaquín, the reader is the younger (born 1818)¹¹⁴. The interaction takes place in the context of the National War of 1856, in which Juan asks José Joaquín to perform a series of tasks related to the war and the ongoing political situation. Since the letter does not display variation, it is not analyzed here. The lack of variation

¹¹⁴ Antidio Cabal, personal communication.

in this letter is due to the fact that the letter is all around one topic (political issues regarding the war). Although the letter is written between brothers, the letter is addressed more in terms of the role they have as politicians, they only keep a face as members of the government. The brother who writes is the president and the brother who receives the letter is the commander or General of the Army.

5.2.1.1.3 Letter from a mother to a son

The next subset of letters contains only one letter, written by a parent to a child, specifically **from a mother to a son**.

Even with only one letter, interesting uses are reflected. Descriptively, at the subject, determiners and direct object categories, the useages show a complete use of the pronoun *vos*. The indirect object category displays the *te* indirect object pronoun related to the pronoun *vos* together with *te* related to TV forms.

The verbal forms, though, offer a more complex view. **There is covariation between verbal forms conjugated in *tú*, TV and *vos* forms**. No forms for *usted* were found. From the verbal forms counted in this letter the TV form has the highest frequency, with 44.44% of the cases (followed by *tú* with 33.33% and *vos* with 22.22%), but given the fact that Spanish may drop the subject pronoun and those are forms that morphologically are similar for both *tú* and *vos* in some verbs in present and in preterit tenses, there is no way to know to which form to attach those verbs in TV form. Certainly variation is present in the verbal forms between the three forms.

In the interaction from mother to son, then, covariation is present and more visible at verbal level, although, in terms of the subject pronoun, the mother addresses the son just with *vos*.

Carta de María Bolívar a su hijo Miguel Bonilla¹¹⁵

Section 1. Use of *tú*/*tv* forms

(11)*s.n./Mi querido hijo don Miguel Bonilla* (1)
 My dearest son Miguel Bonilla
Estimado hijo: recibí la tuya, en la que me
 Dearest son: I received yours (the letter) in which you
Dises [tú,]que estabas [tv] a hacer viaje para esa de Nica-
 tell me you are making a trip to Nica-

¹¹⁵ Due to the number of interactions present in this letter, for the analysis, the text is also being divided in sections.

Ragua, junto con la encomienda de 10 reales y 14 ma-
Ragua, with the package of 10 reales (monetary units) and 14
Nos de cacao a 20 ms. La qual me trajo el padre (5)
 Units of cocoa by 20 coins, brought to me by Father
*Garsía, aunque me **dises** [tú] que me **ibas**[tv] a mandar*
 Garcia, although you say that you were about to send me
3 pesos y 5 reales pero Isidro en la suya dice que despu- (7)
 3 pesos and 5 reales but Isidro in his (letter) says that after (...)

In the first section, the interaction is a recounting of a series of events that are related to the family but are more business-like. The mother uses the verb “*decir*”, an expositive type of verb, in order to retell or recount what has been said in a previous letter about business (trip to Nicaragua, load of cocoa product sent). The verb “*decir*” is in *tú* form (line 6) and the second verb in the subordinate clause is in *tv* form.

Section 2. Use of *vos*

*[despu]és que le **entregastes**[vos] el cacao **volviste** [tv] a cojer.* (8)
 You gave him the cocoa you took (the Money) again

In section II a shift from the *tú* form to the *vos* form is made. The mother makes a statement, also through an expositive verb. It is the same type of verb (expositive) used in section I when retelling the events described in the previous letter, but this time the interaction is different. She is asserting that after the money paid for the cocoa was given, Isidro, a third person said, that the son took it again (it is not clear from the context if it is the money or the load of cocoa that was taken). By making this statement she is expressing a speech act that has an increased possibility that an FTA will occur, given the fact that stating that the son took the money (or the cocoa) can constitute a sensitive topic that will affect the son’s (Hearer’s) face, and may be not in line with what actually happened (lines 5 to 8). The shift to a pronoun that implies approach (*vos* is an approach pronoun) is made as a way to minimize the FTA. This is performed through a strategy that implies communicating to the hearer that no FTA was intended. In order to do so, the mother (writer) gives emphasis to the positive face of the hearer (that is, she approaches the hearer). In this specific context, that is done by shifting to the approach pronoun *vos*. The shift has been made as a way to pay attention to the positive face of the son, by coming closer to him (as the reader) by changing from the *tú* form to the *vos* form.

Section 3. Use of tú

*La carta que me **dices [tú]** que te mandé me parece*
The letter you say I sent you, it seems to me
Que el día que se hizo mi testamento, que se sacó ayí [sic](10)
That the day my will was written, it was taken there

A shift to *tú* is made again in regard to the interaction: the mother, speaker in this case, returns to the mode of “retelling”, using an expositive verb, establishing again a level of withdrawal regarding her son by employing again the *tú* pronoun (line 9).

Section 4. Use of vos

*La **guardaste [vos]** voz, aunque yo no sé si será esa que*
You kept it, although I do not know if that is the one
Te mando = haora solo te encargo que por dios (12)
I am sending. Now, I just ask you for God’s sake

In this fourth section of the letter, there is another shift from the pronoun *tú* to the approach pronoun *vos*. It seems that here again, more than the type of interpersonal verb, what plays a role is the type of interaction or what is being said that defines the shift of the pronoun and triggers the variation in the use. The mother is talking about a letter made the same day her will was written and she is telling her son that he was the one keeping it, although next sentence, she admits that she does not know for sure if it is the same letter she is sending again (lines 9 to 11). For the second time, she conveys a speech act that deals with a sensitive topic (she is assuming that he kept the letter) and it seems that she is trying to avoid an FTA and is trying to pay attention to the positive face of the son by coming closer to him. This part of the interaction is similar to Section II. In both sections the mother is dealing with the increased possibility of making an FTA to the positive face of her son. Again, the shift in the pronoun plays a role in keeping/resolving aspects of the exchange or interaction that are related to face.

Section 5. Use of tú

*No **tengas [tú/tv]** ningún disgusto con don Carlos porque me-*
Do not to have any problems with don Carlos because
Jor es que lleben la cosa con mucha prudencia
It will be better if you handle the situation with much prudence
Y armonía; pues yo te considero dando algunas (15)
And harmony, because I consider you sometimes give some
Trasas.

Trouble.
Todos estamos (aunque indignas) muy em-
 We are all very determined

The writer comes back to the use of *tú*, this time employing an exercitive verb (line 13). Exercitives verbs are the type of verbs employed in speech acts in order to suggest, make a recommendation or exert pressure (from the writer's perspective) over the reader. The interaction changes from section IV to section V: an interaction in which there is a risk of performing an FTA to the positive face of the reader to an interaction in which the writer is making a recommendation. In this case, the mother is trying to satisfy the negative face of the son. Making a recommendation (*no tengas ningún disgusto*, "do not have any problem", line 13) implies a sort of imposition over the self determination of the hearer. Paying attention to the negative face of the reader (the son) implies or requires a speech act that is based on avoidance. Such avoidance is conveyed by the speaker through the shift of the pronoun *vos*, used in section IV to the use of *tú* in this section V.

Section 6. Use of *vos*

[em]peñadas con San Jaquín para que te felicite a vos; y a
 With San Jaquín to congratulate you and
Santiago, a quien le agradezco mucho el que fuera con
 To Santiago with whom I am very grateful for going
Vos = también te agradezco el favor de encomen- (20)
 With you, I am also very thankful for giving the money
Darle a don Rafael Gallegos la mesada, la qual
 To don Rafael Gallegos, I
Hasta hora estoy resibiendo.
 I am just receiving it (the Money)

This section of the letter displays again a shift to *vos*, this time not in the verbs but through prepositional constructions. The interaction here is about expressing gratitude toward the reader and another individual. The speech act, although not in the second person, express emotions and congratulations. The writer employs verbs that are behavitive in nature. All these types of speech acts reinforce the positive face of the reader. The use of the pronoun *vos* in order to approach the hearer in this section is consistent with what has been shown in previous sections of these letters each time the pronoun *vos* was used or, in other words, every time the writer approaches the reader, in this specific type of relationship.

In the following part of section VI, the writer (the mother) still keeps the use of the *vos*; she has not shifted back yet to the pronoun *tú*. Although the interaction is not about family topics, it is not about business either. Somehow the religious topic falls outside the realm of job or business obligations and it is closer to the realm of personal matters. However, it is still an interaction in which the writer wants to stay closer (approach) to the reader, reinforcing his positive face.

*A **vos** te dejaron de mantenedor para el viernes* (23)
 You are in charge of (the service) on the Friday
De Dolores, y yo te pagué la misa, y solo te encargo
 Of Sorrows and I already paid for the church service, I just ask
 you

Section 7. Use of *tú*

*Que me **busques** [tú] una muchachita, porque se fue la Rita.* (25)
 To look for a girl because Rita left.
Memorias te mandan María de el Rosario, Joa-
 Memories are sent to you by María de el Rosario, Joa-
Nica, Justa, María Joaquina, Panchita, Bertola, Fran-
 Nica, Justa, Maria Joaquina, Panchita, Bertola, Fran-
Sisco, Casimira, el padre Quintana, don Santos y las
 Sisco, Casimira, Father Quintana, don Santos and the
Guebaras, y lo mismo yo y toda esta casa
 Guebaras, me too and everybody in this house

In this section, it is possible to see the writer making the shift to the *tú* pronoun through an exercitive verb in the *tú* form. In line 25 a command is given to the reader. Shifting back to *tú* also deals with face in terms of some level of withdrawal (as in a previous section), made by paying attention to the negative face of the reader. The withdrawal implies a way to establish some distance due to the fact that, through the command, the writer is impeding the free action of the reader, thus performing in that way a FTA to the negative face of the reader.

Section 8. Use of *vos*

*Saludan juntamente **a vos**, y a Santiago deseando-* (30)
 Sends Greetings to you and to Santiago
Les la mejor prosperidad.
 Wishing you (both) better prosperity
Tu affectísima servidora que tus

Your affectionate servant
Manos besa María Bolívar [rubricado] (33)
Maria Bolibar

In this last section of this letter, the writer shifts again to *vos* in a type of interaction in which what is communicated implies an approach to the reader. The mother, through the use of behavior verbs (*saludar, desear prosperidad*, lines 30, 31) expresses feelings towards the hearer. Although the verb is not in second person singular, the type of interaction makes the writer to choose a prepositional complement with the pronoun *vos*, which is an approach pronoun. With a series of caring expressions and kindness the mother finishes the letter with the pronoun *vos*.

5.2.1.1.4 Husbands to wives

The next subset of letters analyzes **letters written between husband (S/W) and wife (H/R)**. There are no letters in which the wife writes to husband. Two letters are presented here.

These letters from husbands to their wives present the same pattern along the internal linguistic variables. **There is no covariation in the forms used between husbands and wives.** Examples of this type of relationship are not presented or analyzed. The same tendency shown in the previous letters is again observed here regarding the presence (or absence) of the subject pronoun.

All the categories present instances with the *tú* form exclusively, even in the verbal forms, as well as in the determiners category.

Excerpts from manuscripts are available since the letters written for this period are directly taken from Costa Rican archives. One example taken from a trial (about domestic violence) that reflects the interaction between husband and wife is the one between Rafaela Lopez and her husband, in which the form *vos* is used:

(12) "...aquí vas a pagar todo lo que por **vos**, ha sufrido María Gutiérrez, la concubina".["...here you are (tv form) going to pay for everything that you (vos) have made Maria Gutierrez, the concubine, suffer."] (San José de Alajuela, 1867. Archivo de la Curia Metropolitana. Fondos Antiguos. Caja número 160, fo. 221, 1867).

The fact that in the letters written by husbands there is a consistency in the use of *tú*, may be related to the background of the writers that, in the letters gathered for this study, happen to be a general of the army and a former Costa Rican president, Rafael Mora Porras.

5.2.1.2 Letters between friends

The following subset of letters takes into account letters written **between friends**. One of the limitations of the present data is that there are no letters between family members written in the second half of the 19th century and there are no letters between friends written in the first half of the century under study. Special note of this is made because it can incorrectly lead to the idea that **usted** it is just used between friends, or to the idea that the covariation is not existent between friends. Unfortunately, the data do not allow exploring that.

In the subject category of letters between friends, *usted* is the subject pronoun preferred, with 100% of the uses. As explained before, due to the fact that Spanish is a pro-drop language, in some instances there are no explicit uses of the subject pronoun. Regarding the frequencies of the indirect and direct object pronoun, there were no frequencies of use of indirect object in letters 21 and 26 and there were no frequencies of use of direct object in all letters except in one. It is possible to observe that in the letters from the first half of the century under study, indirect object and direct object for **usted** present totally different forms¹¹⁶, as opposed to the forms that *tú* and *vos* pronouns take in the indirect/direct object which is *te*. (Penny 2001: 136). The frequencies of verbal forms show an overwhelming percentage of uses of verbs in the *usted* form, with a 93.33% of the uses. The few instances for *tú* (**6.66%**) belong precisely to the letter from 1860, **but this use of *tú* is not in covariation with *usted*. The letters between friends do not display any form of covariation in any of the linguistic features analyzed.**

5.2.1.3 Letters between neighbors

In general, the letters written between neighbors show the same tendency: **a generalization on the use of the pronoun *usted* in all the categories** (subject, indirect and direct object, determiners and verbal forms).

¹¹⁶ For the pronoun *usted*, the direct object will be *lo* and the indirect object will be *le*; whereas for the pronouns *vos* and *tú*, both the direct and the indirect object display the form *te*.

The next excerpt from a manuscript displays an exchange **between neighbors**. The example shows the use of both verbal forms in *vos* and *tú*, in covariation. The type of interaction is a confrontation between two female neighbors; it is not possible to determine the age of the two women. The dialog, extracted from Quesada (2005), is a reconstructed dialog based on the original document. This is a very ‘colorful’ passage, in which the female neighbors insult each other (N1> neighbor 1; N2> neighbor 2):

(13)N1: Josefa de Troya: **Mientes (tú verb)**, coyotona puta.
 [You lie (tú verb), coyote (female coyote)bitch/whore]
 N2 :García: tan puta como vos
 [As whore as **you (vos form)** (are)]
 N1: Josefa de Troya: **sos (vos verb)** una puta
 [You are (vos verb) a whore]
 N2: García: Sí, que **te habías ido (tv verb)** de aquí porque **estabas (tv verb)** dando escándalo
 [Yes, you **left (tv verb)** because your (behavior) **was (tv verb)** causing scandal]
 N2: García: **Eres (tú verb)** una puta.
 [You are (tú verb) a whore]
 N1: Josefa de Troya: **Eres (tú verb)** una mestiza
 [You are (tú verb) a mestiza (a half-breed)]
 (AN: CC 2209; fo. 2 y 3)

In this passage, the covariation takes place between the *tú* and the *vos* forms. The change in the forms happens for a reason: it follows pragmatic needs of the speakers. In the interaction, both neighbors engage in expressing speech acts that communicate both accusations and insults. Those accusations and insults constitute face threatening acts to the positive face of the hearer, since it affects the positive consistent image of the hearer, (who in the turn exchange becomes the speaker and the previous speaker becomes the hearer.) FTAs to the positive face of the hearer happen when the speaker does not care about the hearer’s feelings and, also, the hearer may fear or feel embarrassed by emotions expressed by the speaker. The speech act also is performed as a bald-on-record speech act since there is clearly no desire from the part of the speaker to keep the hearer’s face. Below, the dialog between the female neighbors is reproduced, with specification of where the accusations and insults are expressed (N = neighbor):

(13)N1: Josefa de Troya: **Mientes (tú verb)**, coyotona puta.
 [You lie (tú verb), coyote (female coyote) bitch/whore] **(ACCUSATION)**
 N2: García: tan puta como vos. **(INSULT)**
 [as whore as **you (vos form)** (are)]

N1: Josefa de Troya: *sos (vos verb)* una puta. **(INSULT)**
 [You are (*vos verb*) a whore]
 N2: García: Sí, que te *habías ido(tv verb)* de aquí porque *estabas (tv verb)* dando escándalo **(ACUSSATION)**
 [Yes, you *left (tv verb)* because your (behavior) *was (tv verb)* causing scandal]
 N2: García: *Eres (tú verb)* una puta. **(INSULT)**
 [You are (*tú verb*) a whore]
 N1: Josefa de Troya: *Eres (tú verb)* una mestiza **(INSULT)**
 [You are (*tú verb*) a mestiza (a half-breed)]
 (AN: CC 2209; fo. 2 y 3)

The exchange display verbs that are all verdictives in nature. The interaction starts with the accusation that is expressed with a verb in the *tú* form, the hearer (N2) replies using the pronoun *vos* to which N1 replies also with *vos*, keeping an alignment with the form used by N2. Then, N2 keeps going with the accusations using verbs in the form that would correspond to what it has been classified as *tv* form, and then, immediately, insults N1 again, this time with a *tú* verb increasing (also) the level of the insult by using a strong adjective. N1, this time, replies with a *tú* form, keeping up with the intensity of the insult, adding a nominal expression (*mestiza*) to add to the insult.

The sequence, then, can be summarized as:

Tú (accusation) > vos (insult) > tv form (accusation), tú (insult, intensified) > tú (insult, intensified).

Although the use of *vos* happens just once, it is possible to see the fact that there is a shift in the use of the pronouns (in its verbal form) and that the return to the *tú* form is made to fulfill the pragmatic need of the speaker to take the insult to the highest level. It was mentioned before that the shift can be performed as a way to satisfy the pragmatic needs of the speaker. In this type of interaction, obviously, FTAs are carried out without any interest on the part of any of the participants, in keeping each other's face. The FTAs present in this excerpt are conveyed through speech acts that express accusations and insults. Accusations and insults are FTAs that threaten the self-image of the hearer; the S/W does not care about H's feelings or wants. In these types of interactions in which the FTAs are directed towards the positive face of the H/R, a negative evaluation is given about the H/R (and accusations and insults are a way to do it). In this excerpt

between the two female neighbors the variation in the use of the *tú* and *vos* forms, together with other adjectives and terms, fills the pragmatic needs of the speaker in this specific interaction, which is to carry out a FTA to disapprove the positive face of the other individual participating in the exchange.

5.2.1.8 Letters between acquaintances

The next subset of letters gathers letters between acquaintances. *Usted* is the only pronoun or address form employed, but it is possible to perceive an important increase in the frequency of use of the pronoun *usted*. The subject pronoun *usted* is the only pronoun used in these letters. The determiners are consistent with this use (*su* and *suyo*). The category of indirect object displays more examples for the nominal form *le*; there are a few examples of the construction “*preposition + usted*” for the indirect object. In this aspect, this use differs from the use seen in the past centuries (16th to 18th centuries), in which the nominal form was preferred over the pronominal form. There are no examples of direct object pronouns. The verbal forms are consistent with the subject forms found for the *usted* form. There is no covariation, but consistent use of the *usted* form.

There are some studies available regarding the increase in the usage of the subject pronoun, mainly in spoken and current varieties of Spanish, more specifically in the variety spoken in Madrid and in Puerto Rican Spanish (Steward 2003). Miranda Steward analyzes this increase and presence of the subject pronoun *tú* in the Spanish spoken in Madrid as a way in which speakers construct social identity and negotiate face. This is a new and completely different approach to explain the use of the pronoun in a pro-drop language as Spanish. She argues that the use of the pronoun flouts the Gricean Maxim of quantity and that the explicit use of the pronoun conveys a conversational implicature for the hearer and it has to do with the specific or non-specific use of the pronoun. This is not something explored here, but it has to be taken into account as an alternative way to explain the increase in the use of the *usted* pronoun, besides the traditional approach based on the argument that *usted* is used to disambiguate the verbal form in third person that in Spanish is morphologically similar to the verbal form corresponding to third person *él/ella*. The forms in the data are of written character in the present study, but other authors have already started to study face and politeness at written level

(Graham for current varieties, and Bergs, Ayres-Bennet, for sociohistorical study of politeness in letters).

Enriquez (quoted in Stewart) points out that non-specific *usted* is more frequent than specific *usted*. Stewart notes as well:

“The specific value of T is that of solidarity, whereas the use of the V form tends to encode both deference and distance. If the pronoun is to be used to effect a deictic shift from S to H as part of a positive politeness strategy”. (Steward 2003: 2003)

Stewart adds:

“While the choice of **Ud** may be hearer-motivated, a switch to **tú** may be speaker-motivated”(Steward 2003: 203).

This clearly applies for the variety of Spanish Stewart is studying, but certainly does not apply to Costa Rican Spanish in which the current variety has a V form that displays, simultaneously, the values of both intimacy and distance, and producing the deictic shift with **vos**, not with **tú**¹¹⁷. The more important aspect from Stewart’s quote is the idea that the choice of *usted* may be hearer-motivated.

In the interaction between acquaintances, then, there is no covariation, and the form used in 100% of the times corresponds to uses of the pronoun *usted*.

The last subset of letters contains one by a journalist to a female high school student. It is a small letter, there is no variation. There are only a few examples for the categories of indirect object, direct object and verbal forms that, in the 100% of the cases, correspond to the form *tú*.

¹¹⁷ This deictic shift is present in the following excerpt of an interview in a Costa Rican documentary. A female factory worker, middle-aged, named Lourdes, talks about her passion on dancing ‘suin criollo’ (a creole-urban form derived from American swing danced with cumbia music): “Entonces a mí me fascinó, algo así como cuando **usted llega** a una tienda y **ve** un par de zapatos o un vestido que **te** gusta mucho, ¿verdad?, que **vos decís**: “Yo tengo que comprarlo a como dé lugar Y entonces eso me dije: “Yo tengo que aprender a como dé lugar”. “[Then, it (the creole swing dance) fascinated me, something like when **you (usted)** go to a store and **see** (usted form) a pair of shoes or a dress that **you (tv)** like a lot, right? That **you (vos)** say (**vos form**) (to yourself) ‘I have to buy it no matter what. That is what I said to myself, I have to learn (to dance creole swing) no matter what’.”] Taken from: *Se prohíbe bailar suin*[It is forbidden to dance swing]. 00:35 min. Director: Gabriela Fernández. Producer: Wouter Zagt and Gabriela Hernández. Latica de película S.A. 2003.

5.2.1.4 Other interactions

In a document from 1891, related to the most important battle of the war of 1856, some covariation occurs in the retelling of the events. This type of relationship is not covered under any of the categories established. The interaction is between a general and a soldier in the context of a battle. It can be assumed that they know each other, at least at the “acquaintance level”. The general gives some commands to the soldier regarding the burning of a big, old, luxurious house on a farm the soldier has set on fire in order to make the enemies abandon it. In the first part, the general addresses the soldier with *usted* and the soldier replies to him using *usted* as well. [The general is José María Cañas, and the soldier is Gerónimo Segura.]

(14) General Cañas: *¿qué anda **usted** haciendo?* [What are **you (usted)** doing?] (1)

Gerónimo: *Vengo a llevar parque.* [I am here to take some munitions]

G. Cañas: *No **se retire**, **espéreme** un poco (vertiendo aguarrás en una antorcha) **Restringe usted bien**...* (...) [Do not **go away (usted)**, **wait (usted)** for me a little bit (putting some flammable liquid in a torch), **you (usted) rub (usted)** it well]

*¿Sabe **ud** lo que **va a hacer**?* [Do **you (usted)** know (**usted form**) what you are going to do?]

Gerónimo: *Ignoro Señor.* [I ignore (it) Sir.]

G. Cañas: ***Le voy a abrir aquella puerta esquinera, enseguida **sale usted** en cuatro pies con (5) toda velocidad, **se para** de pronto y **se dirige** a toda carrera al mesón; cada boquete de puerta **páselo usted** como volando porque allí está el peligro: Cuando **haya pasado** dos puertas **se detiene** recostándose bien a la pared, **da** fuego a la caña y la **aplica** al alero: cuando este haya prendido bien, **se devuelve usted** a toda carrera a darme cuenta.*** [I am going to open to **you (usted)** that door in the corner, immediately **you (usted) leave (usted form)** on all fours as fast as you can, (you) **stand up (usted form)** all of a sudden, and **go (usted form)** very fast to the mansion, each door, (you) **go through it (usted form)** like flying, because that is where the danger is: When (you) **have passed (usted)** two doors, (you) **stop (usted form)** leaning against the wall, **light on (usted)** the cane (the torch) **and (you) apply (usted form)** it to the eaves: when the eaves are on fire, (you) **come back (usted form)** rapidly to give me a report]

Gerónimo: *(indirect speech in the manuscript) ¿cómo es posible salir por la puerta donde se oyen pegar las balas como granizo?* [‘how is possible to get through the door where you can hear the bullets falling down like hail?’]

[At this point, when the soldier tries to make up an excuse in order to not to comply with the (10) general’s order, the general shifts to ‘vos’ and even to ‘tú’.]

G. Cañas: *No **te acorbardés**, ésta es una rifa que si **te** conviene morir aunque **te quedés** aquí dentro, mueres, y si no **te** ha de convenir, aunque **salgás** entre las balas, **te salvás**, aquí no hay*

más que morir con honor. [do not **become frightened (vos form)**, this is like a lottery in which if it is convenient to **you (tv form)** to die, even if **you stay (vos form)** here inside, **you die (tú form)** and if it is not convenient **to you (tv form)** , even if **you go outside (vos form)** in the middle of the shootout, you **are saved (vos forms)**, here there is no other option than to die with dignity..”]

And another soldier, present in the dialog, adds, using ‘vos’:

*J. Santamaría: ¿por qué **sos** pendejo? Yo ya salí a dar fuego y no puse inconvenientes.* [**Why are (vos form) (you)** such a coward? I already went to set (the mansion) on fire and I did not give any excuses.]

*Gerónimo: no es cobardía, es que hay peligro. (15) (To the General, using **usted**) **Hábrame** (sic) la puerta, voy a dar fuego.* [It is not cowardice, there is danger...(to the general) **Open (usted form)** the door, I am going to set (it) on fire.]

[When the soldier comes back, the General makes the shift again to ‘usted’.]

*General: ya que **usted ha quedado** tan bien, **va usted** otra vez a darle fuego a la otra esquina para que se aumente el incendio.* [Now that **you (usted) have looked so good, you (usted) are (usted form) going to set** the other corner (of the mansion) on fire to make the fire bigger.]

Gerónimo: Listo ya, ¿pero no sería mejor que fuéramos dos? [Fine, but, would it not be better if two of us could go?]

General: pero, ¿aquí con quién cuento? [But, whom can I count?]

Gerónimo: aquí está este señor que dice que es tan valiente (señalando a Juan Santamaría). (20)[Here is this gentleman that says he is so courageous (pointing to Juan Santamaria)]

J. Santamaría: Sí voy hombre, ya fui y vuelvo: yo no pongo obstáculos. (20) [Sure, I’ll go, man. I already went and came back. I do not offer any obstacles.]

In this excerpt, the covariation is present in the indirect object and verbal forms categories. The shift in the pronoun is made by the general from the *usted* form, when the instructions are given by the general on how to perform the action assigned to the soldier (lines 1 to 5) , to the *vos* form when he needs to encourage the soldier to do the task (line 11). The shift is produced again, in regard of the face of the soldier, specifically to the negative face (freedom of action, no imposition) of the soldier. Through the shift to *vos*, with the expression *no te acobardés* ‘do not become frightened’ (line 11) the speaker conditions the freedom of action of the hearer, e.g. the soldier, who could freely decide not to go outside. The soldier offers an excuse, but this possible course of action on part of the soldier is avoided, therefore his freedom of action is impeded, constituting in that way a threat to the soldier’s negative face. It is also

important to note that by shifting to *vos*, the general is also attempting to come closer to the soldier using an approach pronoun and attempting to minimize the FTA that he is performing through the use of the verb *acobardar* ‘to lose the nerve’. Instead of staying with the use of *usted* and saying “*no se acobarde*” (*usted*) and performing the FTA bald on record, and thus impeding the freedom of action of the hearer, the general uses the verb in the *vos* form, trying, simultaneously to minimize the FTA of the speech act he just expressed. That the general needs to encourage the soldier so that the soldier will perform the request is also confirmed by the fact that the speaker, through the reasons he offers, express strong sentiments about the hearer.

Once the soldier has fulfilled his duty, the general shifts back to *usted* (line 16), and approves the soldier’s action *ha quedado usted muy bien* ‘that you (usted) have looked so good’, In this action there is also a threat to the negative face of the soldier, since the general is going, again, to request another action from the soldier and again is going to constrain the soldier’s freedom of action. The shift, from *usted* to *vos* and back to *usted*, fulfills then the pragmatic needs that rise in this specific event and allows the speaker to address specific communicative circumstances that need to be differentiated.

This document demonstrates that covariation was present not just at the level of family letters, but in other type of texts/documents written at that time.

The next diagram summarizes the type of interactions, type of relationship and gender in which the variation takes place and conversely, the type of interactions and type of relationship in which the variation does not take place.

Variation

Family members

Siblings

Male to female

Male to male (1)

Male to male (2)

Mother to son

Contexts

Dealing with face as an administrator and as a brother, the shift in the use of the pronoun helps to signal the different status of the face, according to the role performed (administrator or brother)

The shift takes place when moving from contexts related to business to contexts in which a reprimand or rebuke is made.

Minimum variation: The only shift to *vos* is made when family ties are mentioned.

Shift to *vos* is made when relating to family matters and when the writer wants to approach the reader. *Tú* and *tv* are

	used to make recommendations, suggestions and give commands.
<i>Neighbors (female)</i>	Confrontation: The shift in the pronouns and the alternation between <i>tú</i> and <i>vos</i> signals the increase in the level of the confrontation.
<i>Other (general to soldier)</i>	In battle: The pronoun <i>usted</i> is used to make requests and give instructions; <i>vos</i> is used to approach the hearer (encourage)
<u>No variation</u> <i>Husbands to wife</i>	<u>Contexts</u> Use of <i>tú</i> : Personal matters (communication of death, military execution)
<i>Friends</i>	Use of <i>usted</i> : Correspondence regarding literature topics (debate about the nature of the literature work, requests regarding publication of work).
<i>Neighbors (male neighbors)</i>	Use of <i>usted</i> : Confrontation/Discussion around the honor of daughter.
<i>Acquaintances</i> <i>Siblings</i>	Use of <i>usted</i> : Public correspondence
<i>Male to male</i>	Use of <i>tú/tv</i> : Requests and instruction in regard of war issues.

The types of relationships and types of interactions in which variation is present occur mainly in relationships established through family, except between husband and wife. It seems to be most frequent in relationships established “by blood”. The shift in the use of the pronouns in this specific type of relationship (family) is triggered by communicative situations in which the maintenance or negotiation of face is required. The more frequent and broad cases of variation are present in those letters in which one of the individuals participating in the exchange is a female, independently of if the female is the writer or the reader. Between male siblings the variation is considerably less, and it is limited to the mention of the family or when trying to come closer to the reader. The other types of relationships that are not related to family are those between female neighbors and between general and a soldier. In both type of relationships the variation happens in exchanges in which the pragmatic need of the writer/speaker requires a shift in the use of the pronoun given the need of keeping, maintaining or negotiating face.

It seems then that when covariation takes place a more important and decisive factor is the type of relationship and the type of interaction rather than the gender.

Regarding gender, the analysis clearly indicates that female individuals show a higher frequency of variation than males.

From the perspective of variation within the discourse, the theoretical framework chapter mentions the distinctive characteristics a form must have within discourse in order to constitute a variable. These characteristics are salience, differential distribution and underlying similarity (Dines 1980). This notion of variation in discourse is also complemented by the idea that underlying similarity or function is not sufficient to explain cases of variation in which the pragmatic component plays a role. Over time, discourse pragmatic features develop new meanings in order to fulfill specific pragmatic needs of the speakers (Pichler 2010). The cases of variation analyzed here display the characteristics related to forms that show variation in discourse. In each instance of discourse in which variation is present they are in differential distribution (e.g. *vos* for family matters vs. *tú/tv* for business matters; *tv* form for requests regarding the farm versus *usted* for personal requests). They also have underlying similarity since they all constitute, morphologically, address forms (and its variations according to the linguistic categories of direct, indirect object, etc). It also has the characteristic of having salience, a contextual salience (Degand, Simon 2005), since the shift or use of one pronoun or the other provides the hearer with a cue to establish the meaning implied or communicated with the shift of the pronoun¹¹⁸. The address forms that variate within the contexts in which they have been analyzed, express different meanings. Here is where the re-elaboration of the notion of function by Pichler plays a role. As shown in the analysis, the variation involves different address forms. In some cases the variation occurs between *usted* and *vos*; in another context the variation happens between *tú/tv* forms versus *vos* forms. These different forms in which the variation can occur are good examples of what Pichler mentions about the fact that functions do not constitute a stable denominator, and neither are the forms or linguistic features participating in the variation. More than attaching a specific pronoun to a specific meaning or speech act, what is important is that variation happens to fill the different pragmatic needs of speakers. How that is done and with which meaning, that is determined by the context of the discourse where (every time) an expression is uttered and pragmatically acquires a new meaning. The re-elaboration of

¹¹⁸ According to Degand and Simon (2005) a form acquires contextual salience through the activation in discourse, as it is the case of the address forms used in variation within the written discourse of the letters.

the notion of variation by Pichler clarifies and expands the understanding of this pragmatic aspect of the notion of variation within the discourse.

5.2.2 Century

This section of the analysis looks at the evolution of the linguistic variables over time: four letters belong to the first half of the 19th century, seven letters to the second half of the 19th century and four letters to the first four decades of the 20th century, for a total of fifteen letters.

5.2.2.1 First half of the 19th century

The letters L15, L16, L17 and L18 show that the only subject pronoun present is *vos*, with a very low frequency, only three cases (that constitutes the 100% of the cases). The low frequency of the use of subject pronouns has been mentioned previously. At this point, it is relevant to remark that, compared to the low frequency of *vos* at the beginning of the 19th century, there is an increase in the use of the subject pronoun *usted* towards the end of the century.

Period	First half of the 19 th century F
1811-1820	Jose Antonio Bonilla to his brother Santiago Bonilla (L15)
	Miguel Bonilla to his sister Juana Bonilla (L16)
	Hipolito Calvo to his brother Carmen Calvo (L17)
	María Bonilla to her son Miguel Bonilla (L18)

Table 5.14 Distribution the letters written during the first half of the 19th century

In the verbal category, the variety of forms is very complex in this period. The letters show a preference for *tú* and *TV* forms. All the letters, though, show a certain level of covariation between the forms, in various grades. Letter 17 displays the four forms, with a high prevalence for *tú* and *TV* forms; letter 18 with a preference for *TV* forms. Letter 16 shows the covariation between *TV* forms and *usted* forms, with a higher preference for the latter. During the first half of the 19th century, the letters display covariation.

2nd half of the 19th century

The letters of this period display a steady increase in the use of the subject pronoun *usted* around 1890: *usted* is present in the letters with a percentage of 97.5%, followed by *tú* with a 2.5% of the uses. The subject pronoun *usted* is preferentially used in letters written between friends.

Period	Second half of the 19 th century
1850-1894	From Juan Rafael Mora to his brother Jose Joaquin Mora. (L19)
	From Juan Rafael Mora his wife Ines de Aguilar (L22)
	From Juan Rafael Mora, to his brother Jose Joaquin Mora (L21, excerpt)
	From Jose Maria Cañas to his wife Guadalupe (L20)
	From Manuel González Zeledón to his fellow writer María Isabel Carvajal (L23)
	From Ricardo Fernández Guardia to Pío Víquez (L24)
	From Carlos Gagini to Ricardo Fernández Guardia. (L25)

Table 5.15 Distribution of letters during the 2nd half of the 19th century

During the second half of this century there are some interesting tendencies. The frequencies of indirect object *le* increase and are higher (66.66%) than the indirect object *te* (33.33%) (of either form: *TV* or *tú*). Although it seems that the different linguistic categories show a very complex situation, it is very important to emphasize that each letter is very consistent in the use. The letter from Manuel González Zeledón to his fellow writer María Isabel Carvajal (Carmen Lyra) (L23) uses the form *usted* consistently in all grammatical categories, whereas José María Cañas and Juan Rafael Mora are very consistent, equally in all grammatical categories, in the use of *tú* when writing letters to their wives (letters 20 and 22). This clear pattern, that reflects no chaos, can also be seen in the verbal category: from the letters 19 to 22, there is a preference of the forms *tú* and *TV*, whereas from letters 23 to 25 the preference is given to *usted*. The relevant aspect between the two sets is that letters 19 to 22 are written between relatives and letters 23 to 25 are written between friends. This is very important to remark, because without establishing the clear patterns, it may seem that the address form system is chaotic if all the cases would be included in the same statistics, without clearly separating the contexts in which each pronominal form is used.

5.2.2.2 First half of the 20th century

As a general tendency, during the first half of the 20th century, it is possible to appreciate a generalization in the use of *usted* across all the grammatical categories under consideration in the five letters that belong to this period, although it is relevant to recognize that the letters found in this period are all letters between friends and acquaintances and not between family members. The subject pronouns correspond to *usted* in 100% of the cases, which implies that the covariation at written level is not present and that *usted* is the general form for the category of subject pronoun in letters written between close friends, acquaintances or neighbors.

Period	First half of the 20 th century
1900-1935	From Manuel González Zeledón to Joaquín García Monge. (L26)
	Fragment of a letter written from a journalist to a high school female student. (L27)
	From María Isabel Carvajal to her fellow writer Joaquín García Monge (L28)
	From María Isabel Carvajal to her fellow writer Joaquín García Monge. (L29)
	From Antonio Armilio to his neighbor Amado León. (L30)

Table 5.16 Distribution of letters during the first half of the 20th century

The indirect object category shows a preference for the pronominal *usted* form of indirect object *le*, with 87.5% of the cases and one case of the pronominal *te* (12.5%). Uses of the nominal form with the structure “*a + subject/nominal address form*” were not found. With just one case of the *tú* form, the generalization of *usted* is evident.

The same tendency in the increase of the form *usted* is presented in the *usted* verbal forms, in which the frequencies of verbs for *usted* are 94.44% of the cases. and again with a generalization of of this pronoun across all letters.

After analyzing the three different periods established for the analysis of the external variable century it is possible to see the following tendencies:

- a. During the first half of the 19th century, covariation is the norm. It is present with the three forms (*Tú*, *TV* and *vos*¹¹⁹), mainly in verbal forms, that is, the covariation is present across all the internal linguistic factors under discussion.
- b. The second half of the 19th century is characterized by an increase in the use of *usted* as a subject pronoun, although with very low frequency of subject around 1860. The verbal forms used during the second half of this century do not display covariation, but there is a clear division: *tú* is the form used in the letters between husband and wife, and *usted* is the form used between friends.
- c. During the first half of the 20th century, at written level, the letters show a generalization of the form *usted* across all categories. This partial conclusion is based on the data gathered for the analysis. In this same period, the first half of the 20th century, covariation within the subject linguistic category is not present, only *usted* is used (specifically in letters written between friends and acquaintances).

¹¹⁹ Particularly, in the case of the direct object, the “*te*” refers to the three forms (*vos*, *TV* and *tú*), although they have the same morphological structure.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

6.0 Introduction

As seen in the previous chapter, there is an increase in the use of the pronoun *usted* in the 19th century (see Chapter 5). One of the objectives of this dissertation is to explain how the pronoun *usted* acquired the function of an approach address form. In order to provide such explanation, this chapter covers different aspects in the analysis. The first aspect is to describe the frequencies of appearance of the nominal address form *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’ and of the address pronoun *usted*. A second factor in the analysis is to determine when the *usted* is used as a withdrawal form and when is used as an approach form. Third, to provide an explanation of the process through which the pronoun *usted* is used with two different functions; such process is divided in **grammaticalization** and **pragmaticalization**. And finally, to present how the different uses of *usted* mirror the social dynamics of a society in flux, undergoing change. In order to do that, in this chapter, the concepts and differences established between **Gemeinschaft** and **Gessellschaft types** of societies are employed (see Terkourafi 2009). As mentioned in chapter 1, these terms refer to different types of relationships within a community or within a society. Moreover, the terms describe a transition between two types of societies that historically happened when the shift from a subsistence economy (or *community*) to a capitalistic industrial society (Terkourafi 2009 , based on Tönnies 1887).

The analysis of the evolution of *usted* will be based on the analysis of two internal variables: the subject form and the verbal form. The notions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gessellschaft* offer the necessary framework to understand the evolution of the pronoun *usted* as that part of the language in which the social dynamics are reflected, showing also a society in flux.

It was hypothesized that *usted* acquired an *approach* meaning/function as a way to navigate face around the time in which Costa Rican society was making the transition from an agricultural subsistence economy to the beginning of agrarian capitalism after 1750. This factor, navigating a more complex social and economic system was the impetus for the new function of *usted*.

In the following sections the emphasis of the analysis will be focused exclusively on the semantic evolution of *usted*, starting with the nominal address form from which *usted* originated, that is, the nominal address form *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’.

6.1 General description: *Vuestra Merced* and *usted*

This section describes the frequencies of appearance for the forms *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’ and its ultimate form *usted*. The goal of this section is to determine the uses of these address forms, in its *withdrawal* meaning for the nominal form *Vuestra Merced* and both in its *withdrawal* and *approach* meaning for the pronoun *usted* in Costa Rican letters and excerpts, from manuscripts from the end of 16th century to the first half of the 20th century.

As far as is known, there are no historical accounts or explanations on how the *withdrawal* form *usted* acquired the *approach* meaning in the varieties of Spanish that display this use. The use of the *approach* *usted*, though, has been reported in some varieties of Spanish, but it is not evenly distributed throughout the Spanish-speaking world. In Central America, the *approach* use of *usted* has been described for Honduras (Castro-Mitchell: 1991), and it has been documented for Costa Rica since the 70s (Vargas: 1974). It has also been documented for Colombia (Rey: 1994; Lipski : 1994; Millán 2011). Lipski (1994) does mention this use of *usted* in his description of the dialects of Spanish. For Colombia (regional variation), he describes the use of *usted* in family contexts:

“Los colombianos de las regiones centrales prefieren *usted* en una amplia variedad de contextos, incluso entre esposos, de padres a hijos y entre amigos íntimos, etc. La población de los departamentos orientales (por ejemplo Boyacá) emplea *usted* casi de forma exclusiva” (Lipski 1994: 237). [“The Columbians from the central regions prefer *usted* in a large variety of contexts, even between husbands and wives, from parents to children and between close friends, etc. The population of the eastern provinces (for example Boyacá) use *usted* almost exclusively.”]

For Costa Rica, Lipski points out:

“El español de Costa Rica emplea el voseo, como en otras partes de Centroamérica, aunque el uso de *usted* hasta entre amigos íntimos o miembros de la familia contrasta con la mayoría de los dialectos de América Central” (Lipski 1994: 249). [“The Costa Rican Spanish use the voseo, as in other parts of Central America, although the use of *usted* even between intimate friends or members of the family contrasts with the majority of the dialects of Central America.”]

The use of *usted* in familiar contexts is also employed in Ciudad Juárez, México.¹²⁰ Lipski also reports the use of *usted* between family members and close friends in rural areas of Panamá and Andean regions of Venezuela (Lipski 1994: 322, 383).

As pointed out in the introduction, *Vuestra Merced*, appeared in the Spanish linguistic system as a pronoun of respect towards the end of the 15th century, being the cause of “the progressive displacement of *vos* from its original place” (Rojas 1992: 145). During the next two centuries, it was used to address superiors (Plá Cáceres 1923). In the 17th century, *Vuestra Merced* evolved to *usted*. (Plá Cáceres, 1923: 245).

6.2 Outline of the analysis of *Vuestra Merced* and *Usted*

The history of the evolution of the form *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’, which appeared in Spanish language around 15th century has followed many steps. Before a detailed analysis is offered to explain the evolution of this form, a general outline will be given in order to provide a sequential line to guide the discussion.

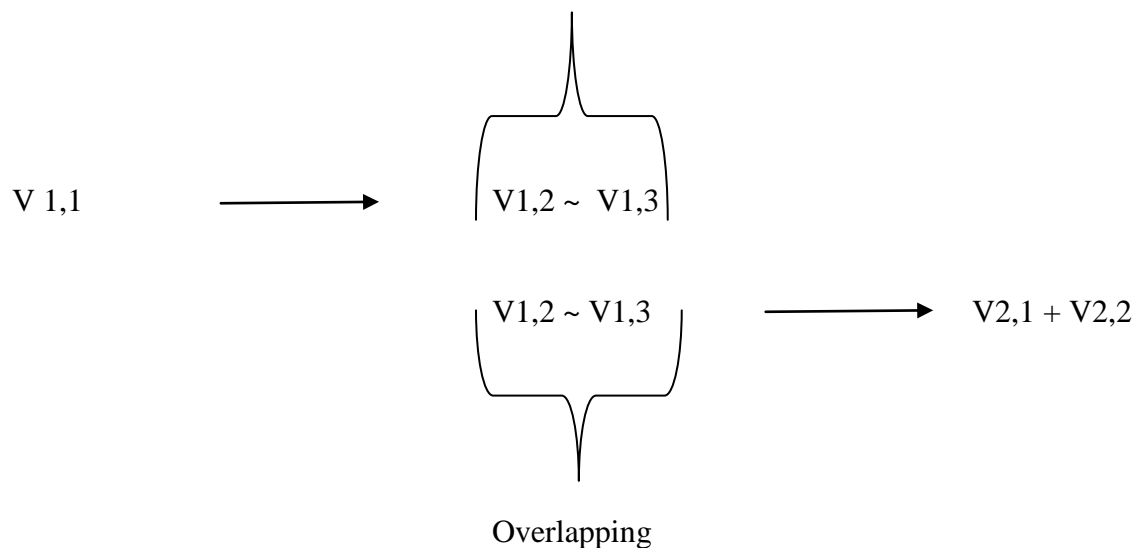
1. The form *Vuestra Merced* evolves to *usted*. This section explores the many changes that caused the Nominal Address form used in 15th century as a title (*Vuestra Merced*) to become a second person pronoun (*usted*), incorporated within the address form system. **This part of the process is called grammaticalization.**
2. After the grammaticalization process, the primary function of *usted* is to show withdrawal. After the initial period, a second function is fully developed of coming closer to the speaker, the approach use. This second meaning appears already in the first period but it becomes generalized during the 19th century for the Costa Rican dialect. Uses become specialized, that is, each is used in specific contexts, and its uses are pragmatically determined. The newer meaning developed as a result of the social dynamics of Costa Rican society during the 19th century. These linguistic changes mirror at the language level the transition from a **Gemeinschaft** type of society to a

¹²⁰ Claudia Holguín, personal communication.

Gessellschaft type of society, that is, from an economy based on barter and subsistence farming to a form of agrarian capitalism.

An important aspect to take into account is the fact that, diachronically, there is a period in which both processes (grammaticalization and pragmaticalization) overlap in the 1800's in terms of the new approach function of *usted* that, later, will further develop and become incorporated into this variety of Spanish. Uses for both withdrawal and approach are found already in the first period of grammaticalization, in which some of the distributions of the *Usted1* and *Usted2* are already sketched out. The specialization of the use, with specific context of distribution, was defined later, in the 19th century (see analysis below).

The following diagram illustrates that period of overlapping:



V1,1 = Vuestra Merced
V1,2 = Usted (Withdrawal)
V1,3 = Usted (Approach)

V2,1 = Usted 1 (Withdrawal)
V2,2 = Usted 2 (Approach)

6.3 Grammaticalization of *Vuestra Merced* > *Usted*, 16th to 18th centuries

The pronominal system during the 16th century in Spain was, then, in a transition period with the appearance of *Vuestra Merced* in the “deferential” axis and the progressive alternation

of *tú* and *vos* in the “non-deferential” axis. Following Penny (2002: 138), at the beginning of the Golden Age, the pronoun address system was constituted as a system marked by “deferential” distinctions, where *tú* and *vos* competed in “non-deferential” contexts¹²¹.

(1)	Golden Age (15th-17th)	[+ deferential]	<i>vuestra merced</i>
		[- deferential]	<i>tú ~ vos</i>

The use of *usted* between family members and close friends in current varieties of Spanish (as in the countries mentioned above) shows that *usted*, as a pronoun, has evolved first, at the level of grammaticalization and secondly at the pragmatic and semantic level. What follows is an explanation of how this pronoun has changed in its morphology, phonology and semantic meaning to become a pronoun pragmatically possible in new contexts (e.g. between family and friends)¹²².

6.3.1 Frequencies of the uses of *Vuestra Merced* from the 16th to the 18th centuries

Description

The form *Vuestra Merced* is present in the letters from the 16th to 18th centuries and the form *usted* is present in the excerpts of the manuscripts that correspond to that same period. The form *Vuestra Merced* is used in five out of fourteen letters, with a total of 23 uses, all of them, with a *withdrawal* meaning/function.¹²³

In the excerpts, both forms, *Vuestra Merced* and *usted* (and the forms *usté*, *ud*), are present. Six excerpts do not reflect the use of either *usted* or *Vuestra Merced* because the other

¹²¹ The terms “deferential” and “non-deferential” are used here as they are the technical terms employed by Penny and by all the authors in Hispanic linguistics when referring to the *usted* and the other second person singular pronouns in Spanish. As in previous paragraphs, “deferential” here refers to a withdrawal pronoun and “non-deferential” to the approach pronoun. This dissertation proposes a new denomination of the terms based on the concept of face. The mention of these terms (deferential and non-deferential) is used solely when referring to other authors whose literature keeps these distinctions. When these authors are not quoted, the terms *withdrawal* and *approach* are employed.

¹²² The analysis in this section will be exclusively focused on the nominal address form *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’ and the personal pronoun *usted*. The statistics and numbers offered here are for those forms and no mention will be done regarding the other forms or pronouns. For that, see chapter 5.

¹²³ The letters with the use of *Vuestra Merced* with withdrawal meaning are L4, L5, L7, L9, and L10.

subject pronouns are used (*vos, tú*). Eight excerpts reflect the use of *Vuestra Merced* and *usted* as follows).¹²⁴

	Withdrawal		Approach	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Vuestra merced	2 (E3)	28.57%		
Usted	1 (E5)	14.28%	1 (E6)	33.33%
Usted	2 (E14)	28.57%	1 (E9)	33.33%
Usted	1 (E8)	14.28%		
Usted (usté)	1(E12)	14.28%	1 (E10)	33.33%

Table 6.1 Withdrawal and approach forms in excerpts from the 16th to 18th centuries

6.3.2 Steps in the grammaticalization of *Vuestra Merced* to *Usted*

The form *Vuestra Merced*, introduced in Spanish, near the end of the 15th century, has clearly gone through a process of grammaticalization. In the general landscape of Spanish dialects, *usted* appears for the first time in 17th century (Plá Cárceles 1923: 235). Quesada (2005: 5) has established the year of 1724 for Costa Rica as the year of the first documentation of the pronoun *usted* in the manuscripts analyzed by him.

Traugott and Dasher, regarding how grammaticalization processes take place, point out:

“As originally conceptualized by Meillet, grammaticalization is typically the development of lexemes into grammatical items. (...). Subsequent work on grammaticalization has suggested that it is more properly conceived as the change whereby lexical material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts is assigned functional category status, and where the lexical meaning of an item is assigned constructional meaning (2005: 81).

The evolution from *Vuestra Merced* to *usted*, described in Pla Cárceles as a process that started in the 15th century and it has been assumed to have been completed by the 17th century, shows specific characteristics of grammaticalization that Traugott and Dasher have explained (2005: 84-85). The description below specifies what those steps towards the grammaticalization have been, but the focus of the current study is the last step, the pragmatic strengthening of the

¹²⁴ The following excerpts do not have any use of either form: E1, E2, E4, E7, E11, and E13.

pronoun (second period). These traits include the following for the grammaticalization process¹²⁵:

1. A specific construction

The specific construction of the form with the possessive “Vuestra” and the noun “Merced”, which, through the evolution of the form, became morphologically reanalyzed and turned into one word from two words (reanalysis is another trait present in grammaticalization process).

2. Bleaching

The “possessive” content of the expression has disappeared from the form under analysis. This process of bleaching is strictly related with the process of the morphological reanalysis of the form.

3. Phonological attrition

One of the more relevant aspects of the change of *Vuestra Merced* to *Usted* is the phonological attrition this form has undergone through five hundred years and it has been explained in great detail by Plá Cárceles. One important aspect of this phonological attrition shown in the excerpts of the manuscripts used for this research is the form *usté*, with the deletion of the final *-d*, which constitutes another manifestation of the further, unidirectional, change of this form.

The following analysis investigates the perspective of *face* in the analysis of *usted*.

6.3.3 Perspective of face from the 16th to the 18th centuries

Traditionally, the change in the semantics of the pronoun *usted* has been considered to be an addition of a second meaning to the primary meaning, that is, to the primary meaning of “deferentiality” as it has been traditionally known, but to what in this study is referred as a *withdrawal* meaning. The original meaning of withdrawal of the pronoun *usted* has expanded to now include a “non-deferential” or *approach* meaning as a result of the codification of face.

¹²⁵ This form has been undergoing a process of grammaticalization for more than five hundred years. The analysis covers grammaticalization and pragmaticalization but emphasis is given to the further expansion of the pronoun from expressing only a withdrawal meaning to expressing an approach meaning of the *usted* form.

Traditionally, the observations regarding this pronoun have been based solely on the appreciation of the two meanings or functions (withdrawal vs. approach) without attempting to explain what the basis is for such distinction. Instead, the present doctoral research focuses on the functions of *usted* based on an analysis of the speech acts contained in the data. A closer examination of the type of speech acts (see chapter 4) leads to a reexamination of the traditional perspective and to an evaluation from the perspective of face. Examples of these speech acts follow.

6.3.3.1 Withdrawal uses of *usted*, 16th to 18th centuries

The first examples offered here are examples of the pronoun *usted* in which the speech acts (see chapter 4 for the perspective of speech acts assumed by this study) express what is meant by the semantic meaning of the verb, with no “further” meaning or semantic exploitation. The speech acts are expressed in the content of the verb, and there is no semantic or pragmatic change in the meaning of the verb through the speech act. Such literal uses can be seen in examples such as example (1), a dialog between neighbors:

(1) “...como **usted me enlaze (usted)** el buey de que me dio noticia le daré una petaca de tabaco” Cubujuqui 1749. Archivo Nacional. Complementario Colonial, fo. 2 [“...if **you (usted)** lasso the ox you told me about I will give you a pouch of tobacco.”]

Another example in which the pronoun *usted* is used with a withdrawal meaning is the following excerpt, in which the person (S/W) who writes is sending this note to his brother, who is a priest, about an administrative aspect of the church, (the pronoun *usted* here is written Vd.):

(2) tengo nota qe **Vd determina** hacer dejacn (sic, dejación) de tres ramos de capellanía qe son a **su** cargo...(como **Vd sabe**), Espero **su** respuesta (en caso qe **concienta**) (AN: PG158; fo. 11) [I have a note here in which **you (ud) determine (usted form)** to leave three “capellanías¹²⁶” that are under your supervision.... (as **you(usted) know (usted form)**). I wait for your answer (in case **you (usted) agree (usted verbal form)**)...] Cartago, 1782: (AN: PG158; fo. 11) (Usted determina (you determine), sabe (you know), consienta (you agree), S puts pressure on H to perform “X” act).

¹²⁶ “Capellanía” is an organization or foundation that keeps and administrates ecclesiastical resources.

These two examples in which the addressees are (respectively) neighbor and a priest, show the use of the pronoun *usted* with a withdrawal meaning. The verbs used in these examples are all verbs used literally, with no semantic exploitation or elaboration. **The withdrawal use of the pronoun *usted* is conveyed together with the use of verbs that express or communicate speech acts that are the same as the meaning conveyed by the verb (speech act = meaning of the verb).**

Withdrawal *usted* > speech act = meaning of the verb.

6.3.3.2 Approach uses of *usted*, 16th to 18th centuries

The next examples are examples, also taken from excerpts, in which there is a **use of the approach *usted***:

(3) “vengo a que usted **me diga**” (making a request, expositive) Cartago 1775. AN:CC 2247, fo. 21 ‘I am here so that **you (ud) tell (usted form) me.**’ (making a request, expositive).

In this example the content (meaning) of the verb does not correlate with the literal meaning of the verb (Searle refers to it as an indirect speech act). In the example “*me diga*” ‘you tell (*usted* verbal form) me’ has the illocutive force of ‘confirm’, instead of ‘saying’ or ‘telling’. What has been asked is to confirm the rumor that has been told to the speaker. Instead of ‘I am here so that you (*ud*) tell (*usted* form) me’, the reading or understanding is ‘I am here so that you (*ud*) confirm (*usted* verbal form) to me....’ The semantic exploitation in this case is more pragmatic in nature and is not related to the literal meaning of the verb.

The next example involves the verb ‘mirar’. Literally the verb ‘*mirar*’ means “to look at”, but in this context the implied meaning is “to realize”. The exchange takes place between a woman and a man; the woman is trying to discourage the man from his romantic advances:

(4) “...que **mire** (*usted*) que se lo lleva el Diablo”...Cartago, 1724. ACM: c.11, 1,4. Fo. 434 [...**realize** (*usted*) that the Devil is going to take you away...]

The two previous examples display the approach *usted*. Example (3) is an interaction between neighbors and example (4) is an interaction between man and woman (he is her suitor).

In both examples, the verbs display meanings that do not correlate with the literal meaning of the verb, but it requires a semantic/pragmatic interpretation by the H/R. **The approach use of the pronoun *usted* is conveyed together with the use of verbs that express or communicate speech acts that are NOT the same as the meaning conveyed by the verb (speech act ≠ meaning of the verb).**

Approach *usted* > speech act ≠ meaning of the verb

How are both versions of *usted*, the *withdrawal usted* and the *approach usted*, differentiated in this first period of grammaticalization? Based on the previous examples of withdrawal and approach *usted*, it is possible to state that the difference between a withdrawal *usted* and an approach *usted* is correlated with the verbs used with the pronoun.

Withdrawal *usted* will use a verb or communicate a speech act that literally correlates with the literal meaning of the verb employed. Approach *usted* will use a verb or communicate a speech act that does not correlate literally with the literal meaning of the verb, but implies a semantic exploitation of what is being said.

6.3.3.3 Withdrawal use of *Vuestra Merced*

With the nominal address form *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’, only withdrawal uses were encountered. This is also the expected use for this nominal address form since 16th century. The next example, from year 1601, taken from a letter from the Governor to a lieutenant, displays the use of *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’ with expected withdrawal meaning (written V. Md):

(5) “....me vino el testimonio de aver rrescevido (sic) el pliego que **V. Md me ynvió** (sic) para el rreal acuerdo de Panamá...” Carta del Adelantado y Gobernador Gonzalo Vásquez de Coronado a su Teniente de Gobernador. Cartago, 1601 [“I got the testimony of having received the document that **(Your Mercy) sent (usted verbal form) to me** for the royal treaty with Panama...”] (*Vuestra Merced* me ynvió ‘sent to me’, assertive).

Similar to the use of the withdrawal *usted* shown in the excerpts examples, the withdrawal *Vuestra Merced* ‘Your Mercy’ employs a verb in which the literal meaning of the verb corresponds to the action expressed by the verb.

The next example, of year 1601, from a Governor to his Lieutenant, shows also this use of withdrawal *Vuestra Merced*:

(6)“...en las mulas que traygo me a ydo mal, que se me han quedado doze o trece; y el macho bueno de la casta de Medina que **V. Md. me quería comprar**, rodó con la carga por una cresta cuesta abajo...” Carta del Adelantado y Gobernador Gonzalo Vásquez de Coronado a su Teniente de Gobernador. Cartago, 1601. [...with the mules that I bring, I have had bad luck, because I have lost twelve or thirteen, the male (mule) of the Medina breed that **Your Mercy wanted to buy from me**, rolled down hill with the load....]

As in the example (5), the use of *Vuestra Merced* in example (6), the verb employed is literal in its meaning and does not require any semantic exploitation or pragmatic elaboration. The uses of the withdrawal forms of both *usted* and *Vuestra Merced* exhibit, as it has been demonstrated by examples (5) and (6), that the withdrawal use is in correlation with the use of the verbs in their literal meaning. The uses of the approach *usted* in the excerpts display verbs that are used with a different meaning than the literal meaning, that is, verbs that have some sort of semantic exploitation.

6.4 Withdrawal, approach, face and speech acts from the 16th to the 18th centuries

After having stated this different pattern in the behavior of the uses of withdrawal and approach uses based on the verbs, it is important to now look at what type of actions or speech acts are conveyed by the verbs, that is, if the actions expressed by the verbs are requests, suggestions, expressing statements, or speech acts that can be interpreted in terms of requests, suggestions, etc. Specifying this type of information is important because, as it will be demonstrated, the speech acts (verbs) employed communicate Face Threatening Actions to the negative or (later) to the positive face of the speaker¹²⁷.

¹²⁷ This information will be also relevant when analyzing the examples of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Example	Excerpts		Letters
	Withdrawal	Approach	Withdrawal
(1) Usted me enlaze	Performative		
(2) Determine, saber, consienta	Put pressure on the hearer to perform "X" act		
(3) Me diga		Making a request, expositive	
(4) Mire (usted)		Order	
(5) Me ynvió (sic)			Making a statement, expositive
(6) Me quería comprar			Giving an excuse

Table 6.2 Withdrawal and Approach uses in the examples and speech acts, 16th to 18th centuries

Both in the withdrawal and approach uses of the pronoun *usted*, the use and performance of speech acts detailed in the table constitute Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) to the negative face of the addressee. Through acts such as making requests, giving orders, putting pressure on the hearer to perform a specific act, the negative face of the hearer (again, rights to non-distraction, freedom of action, and freedom from imposition) is threatened.

The following table shows the distribution of the withdrawal and approach uses:

FTA to the negative face	Withdrawal Excerpts		Withdrawal Letters.		Approach. Excerpts.	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Suggestion	1	14.28%	4	18.18%	1	33.33%
Order	1	14.28%	6	27.27%	1	33.33%
Request	2	28.57%	7	31.81%	1	33.33%
Putting pressure on the H/R to perform X act	4	50%				
Advice			2	9.09%		
Excuse			2	9.09%		
Reminding			1	4.54%		

Table 6.3 FTA to negative face in withdrawal and approach *usted*, 16th to 18th centuries

During this period then, and after presenting the corresponding examples, it is possible to see the difference between the nominal form *Vuestra Merced* versus the pronoun *usted* when this pronoun is used as an approach pronoun, that is, when the approach *usted* is used with a verb with a semantic/pragmatic exploitation. Also, it is possible to see that the nominal form *Vuestra Merced* displays the same uses as a withdrawal form *usted* when the verbs are used literally, with no semantic exploitation. A common trait found in all verbs is **they constitute FTAs to the negative face of the hearer.**

In the present study, through the analysis of Spanish verbs used in the data, it becomes clear that what is relevant in the use of the pronouns that display the approach use during this first period is the pragmatic exploitation (Terkourafi: 2005). It is argued that pragmatic exploitation is the factor that from the 19th century onward would later become the central aspect of the process of pragmaticalization on the pronoun *usted*.

6.5 Pragmaticalization of *usted*, The development of *usted 1* and *usted 2*

In chapter 5, Linguistic Analysis, it was noted that for the 19th and the 20th centuries an increase in the use of the pronoun *usted* took place. During this second period also, a change is noticeable in the use and meaning of the pronoun. A look at the type of verbs used together with this pronoun during this second period portrays a very different perspective: a specialization on its use. This specialization in the use of the pronoun is related to the face of the individuals participating in interactions, particularly the face of the H/R. Specifically, they take the form of FTAs to the negative face of the addressee while others reflect FTAs to the positive face of the addressee.

6.5.1 Frequencies of the uses of *usted*, 19th to 20th centuries, Description

In the letters from the 19th and 20th centuries, letters 15, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 are letters that do not display the use of the nominal address form *Vuestra Merced* or subject form *usted* (six letters out of sixteen).

Letter	Approach <i>usted</i> .	
	Frequency	Percentage
Letter 16	3	23%
Letter 23	5	39
Letter 28	5	39

Table 6.4 Approach uses in letters during the 19th to the 20th centuries

These letters show the use of the form *usted*, **in the verbal inflection** (in letters 16, 23 and 28).¹²⁸ There are no uses of the form *Vuestra Merced*. Through the use of the verbs and the use of other linguistic factors, it is possible to determine the use of the *usted* (wether withdrawal or approach).

The uses of the form *usted* (for the 19th and the 20th centuries) are taken from letters 24, 25, 26, 27, 29 and 30. It was previously said that these letters did not have *usted* in the subject form. In order to determine the evolution of the pronoun and when it is used as a withdrawal form and when is used as a approach form, the count was made differently (see note 5 in this chapter). **The next table reflects the particularity that these letters show both uses of *usted*, withdrawal and approach:**

Subject forms of *usted* : letters from the 19th to 20th centuries

Letter	Withdrawal use	Approach use
Letter 24 (n=15)	8	7
Letter 25 (n=29)	14	15
Letter 26 (n=9)	4	5 ¹²⁹
Letter 27 (n=1)	1	0
Letter 29 (n=6)	0	6
Letter 30 (n=6)	6	0

Table 6.5 Forms of *usted*, letters from the 19th to the 20th centuries

¹²⁸ In the letters in which the subject pronoun is expressed, the frequency is based on the number of appearances of the subject pronoun. In the letters in which the subject pronoun is not expressed but possible to see that the *usted* form is expressed through the verb, the verbs are counted for frequency purposes. Of course, this way of counting was adopted as a convenience since there is no other way to know that the *usted* was used, except through the verbs. It was decided to use the verbs and not another category when the subject pronoun is not expressed because the use of verb will still show the pragmatic context and help determine if there is a withdrawal or approach use of the pronoun.

¹²⁹ The approach use in this letter, instead of showing familiarity, pragmatically shows a desire from the part of the writer to reduce the distance between the two individuals who are interacting, In the letter itself, the writer points out “No tengo –y me proporcionaré- el gusto de conocer a usted personalmente”. (Segura Montero: 41).

The letters that display both uses of the subject pronoun *usted* are letters written between (male) friends.

The analysis of these forms follows and is based on Traugott and Dasher's point of view regarding social deixis and in the fact that social deixis encodes meaning and social standing (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 226).

The next examples illustrate uses of the FTAs to both the negative and the positive face, exemplifying two types of uses: withdrawal and approach. This division will be justified in the next paragraphs.

6.5.2 Withdrawal use (FTA to the positive face of the H)

Examples (7) and (8) are part of a correspondence that took place among Costa Rican literary authors towards the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th centuries as a part of a national debate on nationalism in Costa Rican literature. In the excerpt below, the debate revolves around what should be the topics chosen for Costa Rican authors' literary works, foreign topics or national ones:

(7)“Señor Zapatero, **usted hace** admirablemente las zapatillas de señora, pero le aconsejo que se dedique a las botas Federicas o a las alpargatas” Letter from Ricardo Fernández Guardia to Pío Víquez. June, 24. 1894. *‘Mr. Zapatero (shoemaker), you do admirably ladies shoes, but I will advise you to do (usted verbal form) Federicas boots or alpargatas...’*[*usted* hace ‘you do’...expositive, que se dedique...’you do’, respectively expositive and verdictive,]

In example (7), after making a statement which corresponds to a expositive type of speech act, the S/W makes a statement through which it belittles the addressee by telling him to produce a lower class of footwear (a metaphor the author is using to imply that instead of foreign or international topics, the writer should concentrate on nationalistic topics of “less significance”). This act of belittling someone corresponds to a verdictive type of speech act. Through this act of belittling the S/W is disregarding the well being and acceptance of the addressee, which constitutes an FTA for the positive face of the addressee. It is important to keep in mind that FTAs to the positive face of the H/R happen when the S/W does not care

(8)“Manifesté solamente un deseo y **usted lo ha tomado como una exigencia**...Letter from Carlos Gagini to Ricardo Fernández Guardia. June, 29th. 1894.”

I just expressed my wish and you (ud) took it as a demand' [expression of not sharing the same value or perspective, behavitive]

Example (8) is another example in which the S/W expresses not having or sharing the same value or perspective of the H/R: *usted lo ha tomado como una exigencia* 'and you (*usted*) took it as a demand', that being a behavitive type of speech act. As with the previous example, the positive face of the H/R is threatened because both S/W and H/R are not sharing the same perspective, even more; the S/W is giving disapproval to the H/R's perspective and in an implicit way, stating that the H/R's perspective is wrong or misguided.

(9) "... **me echa usted en cara** un desatino que creo no haber dicho". Letter from Carlos Gagini to Ricardo Fernández Guardia. June, 29th. 1894. [...**you throw in my face** a blunder that I believe I did not say.....](expression of disagreement and also an accusation, a verdictive type of speech act)

Example (9) displays a verdictive speech act: the S/W expresses disagreement and a sort of accusation by stating that the H/R throws something (a blunder) on the S/W's face. The FTA to the positive face of the hearer comes from the S/W expressing his dislike towards something that was done by the H/R. By expressing dislike about something done by the H/R the S/W is threatening the H/R's desire to be accepted (positive face).

The previous examples show how, through specific types of speech acts (examples of behavitive and verdictive type of speech acts were offered) the positive face of the H/R is threatened. How these examples constitute withdrawal uses of *usted* will be analyzed later, from the standpoint of the approach/withdrawal perspective (Terkourafi, 2005). As for now, it is assumed, that they constitute withdrawal uses.

Other types of speech acts that are present in the withdrawal use and are correlated with FTA to the positive face of the H/R are presented in Table 6.6 below

6.5.3 Approach use of *usted*

Example (10) comes from a letter written between two fellow writers:

(10) Si no tuviera usted tan exquisito temperamento... Letter from Ricardo Fernández Guardia to Pío Víquez, June, 24. 1894. "If it weren't because you (**ud**) have such an exquisite temperament..."[S/W expresses a compliment to the H/R, S/W's sentiments of admiration toward H/R, behavitive type of act]

In example 10, this part of the letter expresses the S/W's admiration towards a characteristic (the personality) of the H/R in a type of speech act that would correspond to a behavitive type of act. Through the expression of admiration, the S/W is communicating his feelings toward the H/R or the H/R's belongings. Through admiration, the S/W is impeding the freedom of action of the H/R (eg.: the eventual possibility for the H/R of not having an exquisite temperament). By impeding the freedom of action of the H/R, the negative face of the H/R is threatened.

Examples (11) and (12) come from a letter written between two neighbors that are, respectively, the father of a young woman, and the father of a young man. The father of the woman writes a letter to the father of the young man. The letter starts with the following excerpt:

(11)“Creo que **usted debe estar sabido** que su hijo Merino llevaba relaciones amorosas con la hija mía, y al mismo tiempo con el objeto de casarse, pues llo [sic] le puse un plazo de seis meses...”Letter from Antonio Armilio Arce to Amadeo León. March, 6th. 1935. ‘I believe **you must know** that your son Merino was involved in a relationship with my daughter with the intention of getting married, I gave him a period of six months...’[one parent gives a warning to the other parent, declarative]

Example (11) starts with a very complex declarative speech act. The father of the young woman is stating that the other parent already knows about the relationship between the two young adults, but at the same time, there is implicitly a warning message (he should know about it). Through this warning statement, the father of the young woman is clearly not giving freedom of choice to the father of the young man to not know about the situation going on. By putting the father of the young man on the spot, the father of the woman is doing an FTA to the negative face of the H/R.

The next example comes from the same letter, and the warning message is even clearer; other types of speech acts that equally exert an FTA to the negative face of the speaker are also present:

(12)“Asi es que **haga lo que le parezca** [sic], **si Ud. se disgusta, pues ando por donde quiera**, pues son pantalones lo que cargo...” Letter from Antonio Armilio Arce to Amadeo León. March, 6th. 1935 “***Do whatever you want, if you get upset***, I am here (where you can find me), because I do have my pants on.”(meaning ‘I am not a coward, I am ready for whatever’). [haga lo que le parezca ‘do whatever you want’behavitive; si usted se disgusta, behavitive, ‘ando por donde quiera’warning/threat]

The first expression *haga lo que le parezca* ‘do whatever you want’ is a expression of a strong emotion from the S/W to the H/R, clearly a behavitive type of speech act in this case. The same applies to the next expression, *si usted se disgusta*: ‘if you get upset’, in which anger towards the hearer is also expressed (also a behavitive type of speech act). Finally, the last statement constitutes a very clear warning from the parent of the young woman to the other parent *ando por dondequiera, pues son pantalones lo que cargo* ‘I am here (where you can find me, (I am not a coward, I have guts)). The expression of strong emotions in *haga lo que le parezca* ‘do whatever you want’ and *si usted se disgusta* ‘if you get upset’ are strong emotions of anger , of the S/W to the H/R and constitutes an FTA to the negative face of the hearer: despite of the fact that the S/W is telling the hearer to do what he wants, and although it even seems that S/W is giving the H/R freedom of action (if you get upset), those two expressions of strong feelings are connected with the following warning (I am here, where you can find me). With the expression of anger and the consequent warning S/W is communicating to the addressee that he cannot act freely, making, therefore, an FTA to the negative face of the addressee¹³⁰.

The next table displays the examples offered above with the distribution of the speech acts and the type of actions that do the FTA to either the positive or the negative face:

Example	Letters from the 19th to the 20th centuries	
	Withdrawal FTA to the + face	Approach. FTA to the – face.
(7) Ud. Hace admirablemente zapatillas de señora (...)le aconsejo que se dedique	expositive (verdictive) belittling	
(8) Y ud lo ha tomado como una exigencia	Not sharing the perspective of the H (behavitive)	
(9) Me echa usted en cara un desatino que creo no haber dicho	disagreement , accusation (verdictive)	
(10) Si no tuviera usted tan exquisito temperamento		compliment, expression of admiration (behavitive act)
(11) Usted debe estar sabido		Implicit warning (you better know about this) Expositive/Behavitive.
(12) Haga lo que le parezca, si ud. se disgusta, ando por donde quiera		expression of emotion (anger), warning. (behavitive)

Table 6.6 Comparison of withdrawal and approach uses in letters from the 19th to the 20th centuries

¹³⁰ The previous paragraph of the letter states: [...so, as his father (of the young man) I hold you responsible, we are enemies wherever we go, it is the mare (the young woman) or the foal (the young man) ,or I am going to lie on my back in the cementery or find myself unfortunate in jail] “...así es que Ud como padre de él se lo antepongo, somos enemigos adonde los (sic) encontremos , o la yegua o el potrillo, o voy a volar espalda al panteón o me ayo (sic) desgraciado en el presidio de la cárcel...”

The table below reflects the distribution of the cases of *usted* found in the letters from the 19th to the 20th centuries. That distribution is organized around the classification of the verbs, their type and what type of FTA they represent. The verbs that constitute FTAs to the negative face of the H constitute the cases of approach *usted* and the FTAs to the positive face of the H constitute the cases of withdrawal *usted*.

FTA to – face based on verbal forms. Approach (n=7)	Freq .	FTA to – face based on subject pronoun. Approach. (n = 35)	Fre q.	FTA to + face. Withdrawal. Subject based (n= 35)	Freq.
Putting pressure on the H to perform X act.	3	Compliment	1	Increased possibility that an FTA will occur (sensitive topic)	2
Formulaic expression	1	Expression of admiration	6	No common values between S/W and H/R	1
Expression of S's sentiments of the H	1	Reminding	7	Belittling/Boasting	11
Suggestion	2	Warning	2	Dissapproval	4
		Constraining	3	Statements	6
		Expression of negative emotions	4	Expression of an emotion	2
		Promise	1	Confession	4
		Expression same value of the H	1	Acceptance of a compliment/gift	1
		Suggestion/Advice	4	Accusation	1
		Expressing thanks (damage to S)	1	Indifference to the + face needs of H/R	1
		Request	3	Self-humiliation	2
		Offering an excuse (damage to S)	1		
		Offer	1		

Table 6.7 FTA to negative and positive face: Withdrawal and Approach uses from the 19th to the 20th centuries

One important aspect present in the letters from the 19th and the 20th centuries different from the period before **is the presence of types of speech acts that constitute FTAs to the positive face of the addressee.**

In the first period, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the speech acts reflected solely FTAs to the negative face of the addressee, and the withdrawal and approach uses were conveyed by the literal meaning or the semantic/pragmatic exploitation of the verb, respectively. The withdrawal meaning of *usted* and *Vuestra Merced* in the first period (16th to 18th centuries) constituted an FTA to the negative face of the addressee and went together with the use of the verb with their literal meaning. **In the second period, as the examples show, the withdrawal**

meaning is conveyed through speech acts that constitute FTAs to the positive face of the addressee.

6.6 A comparison between the withdrawal uses

The next table contains a comparison of the examples (1), (2) (5) and (6) with the uses of the withdrawal meaning of *usted* and *Vuestra Merced* from the 16th to the 18th centuries and with the examples (7), (8) and (9) with the withdrawal *usted* from the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Example	Withdrawal uses	
	Withdrawal FTA to negative face 16 th to 18 th centuries	Withdrawal FTA to positive face 19 th to 20 th centuries.
(1)Bea usted	Performative	
(2)Determine, saber, consienta	Put pressure on the hearer to perform X act	
(5) Vuestra Merced Me ynvió (sic)	Making a statement, expositive	
(6)Vuestra Merced Me quería comprar	Giving an excuse	
(7)Ud. Hace admirablemente zapatillas de señora (...)le aconsejo que se dedique		Expositive (verdictive) belittling
(8)Y ud lo ha tomado como una exigencia		Not sharing the perspective of the H (behavitive)
(9)Me echa usted en cara un desatino que creo no haber dicho		Disagreement , accusation (verdictive)

Table 6.8 Comparison between the withdrawal uses of *usted* 16-18th centuries and 19th to 20th centuries

The previous table shows the contexts (and the examples offered) in which the withdrawal *usted* occurred during the 16th to 18th centuries versus the contexts (and the examples) of the withdrawal *usted* during the 19th and the 20th centuries. **The contexts are contrasting in what they communicate and are mutually exclusive.** The withdrawal *usted* seems to have “moved out” to new contexts: from contexts in which the withdrawal *usted* was an FTA to the negative face to contexts in which the use constitutes an FTA to the positive face of the addressee, from contexts in which there was no semantic/pragmatic exploitation to contexts with semantic and pragmatic exploitation, eg. pragmaticalization).

It is important at this point to recall the table from chapter 1 in which the “movement” of the pronoun *usted* was already schematized on the basis of a reinterpretation of the data offered

by Quesada (2005). The chart is reproduced here again with the intention to show the movement or migration of the pronoun from the withdrawal (deferential) column to the approach (non-deferential) column (following Quesada's labels):

Century	Withdrawal relationship	Approach relationship
16 th - 17 th	Vos Vuestra merced	Tú
18 th	Usted Su merced	Vos Tú Usted
19 th	Usted	Vos Tú Usted
20 th	Usted	Vos Tú (incipient) Usted

Table 6.9 Reanalysis of Quesada's address for system used in Costa Rican Spanish

The table 6.9 shows a general reinterpretation of the movement of the pronoun from the withdrawal axis to the approach axis. The current analysis is based on the notion of face, and the different contexts for the first (16th to 18th centuries) and the second periods (19th to the 20th) that have been studied in regard to the withdrawal *usted*. Table 6.10 illustrates precisely that movement, but now in terms of what they imply for the withdrawal *usted* and the notion of face (from FTAs to the negative face to FTAs to the positive face).

It is also very important to notice that *usted* has moved to a new context without leaving or emptying the previous one, which also calls for a new interpretation on the use of the pronoun *usted*.

Example	Withdrawal FTA to the – face. 16 th to 18 th centuries	Withdrawal FTA to the + face, 19 th to 20 th centuries
(1)Bea usted	Performative	
(2)Determine, saber, consienta	Put pressure on the hearer to perform X act	
(5) Vuestra Merced me ynvió (sic)	Making a statement, expositive	
(6)Vuestra Merced me quería comprar	Giving an excuse	
(7)Ud. Hace admirablemente zapatillas de señora (...)le aconsejo que se dedique		Expositive (verdictive), belittling
(8)Y ud lo ha tomado como una exigencia		Not sharing the perspective of the H (behavitive)
(9)Me echa usted en cara un desatino que creo no haber dicho		Disagreement, accusation (verdictive)

Table 6.10 Contexts of withdrawal use from the 16th century to the 20th century

This table shows how the withdrawal *usted* moves from one context to another context, from one period to the next, without leaving the previous context “empty” (see tables 6.9 and 6.10).

An important issue to resolve is how the codification of the new specialized use (the FTA to the positive face) is produced. Is it semantic change? Is it only a pragmatic realization of the same meaning into new contexts (which can be the case in extending the use of *usted* beyond “formal settings”)?

6.7 Steps in the pragmaticalization and specialization of the pronoun *usted*

By the pragmaticalization of the pronoun *usted*, it is meant the process through which the pronoun changes in its use (to withdraw from or approach to someone) according to the context and types of speech acts used during the exchange. It also should be kept in mind that *usted* is a V form within the frame of the T/V address forms systems. In regard to pragmatic uses of a V form, the work from Terkourafi (2005) can illustrate how a V form can be used beyond the expected use in a language.

To this respect, Terkourafi (2005) explains that the use of the V form in Cypriot Greek could be explained as a code switching between Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek (Mainland Greek), but she also points out, based on Dasher and Traugott, that if the speech act is centered in the speaker, there a process of subjectification, which it was defined previously (see Theoretical Framework chapter) as the type of meaning expressed from the speaker/writer's perspective.

The **subjectification** process is seen by Diewald (2011) as a component of the *grammaticalization* process and it is also considered by this author as a particular type of semantic change:

“While grammaticalization is a complex multilevel diachronic process leading towards grammar, subjectification is a particular type of semantic change, leading to meanings “based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition” (Traugott 1989: 35). Though subjectification is often found as one component of grammaticalization processes, it is independent of and not restricted to it” (Diewald, 2011: 9).

Moreover, Diewald also sees a connection between subjectification and pragmatics, given the fact that subjectification is based on meaning from the perspective of the speaker, who is the central element in “any pragmatic aspect of language” (Diewald, 2011: 9).

Diewald also introduces the term *pragmaticalization* to refer to certain type of changes that do not fall within the **subjectification** area or within *grammaticalization* territory. The author denominates thus *pragmaticalization* as the border line between the two, because at the end point of the change there is not a new grammar element in the traditional sense (as it would happen with “normal” grammaticalization with the creation of a new pronoun to express the new meaning of *usted*) but there is definitely a change¹³¹. An aspect present in this process is, following Diewald, that in the grammaticalization processes the structural scope is reduced (there is just one *usted*) but also the semantic scope is expanded (as it happens with the addition of the second meaning):

¹³¹ The term, according to Diewald, is used to keep the domains of grammar and the domains of pragmatic/discursive function as separate fields. (Diewald, 2011:12). The personal standpoint of the author is that there is no reason to keep these two domains separate, since, as the author proves regarding discourse markers in German, pragmaticalization falls within the realm of grammaticalization. The author subsumes all processes under the label of grammaticalization.

“Summarizing the results of this discussion it may be stated that the diachronic processes — be they called grammaticalization or pragmaticalization (...)are virtually indistinguishable from “normal” grammaticalization processes as far as structural, semantic and chronological features are concerned. The only difference lies in the perceived results of the diachronic development”. (Diewald, 2011: 12)

The development of the pronoun *usted* with the specialization of its meanings can be seen then, through the processes in which the perspective of the meaning based on the speaker also fulfills other criteria for grammaticalization: obligatoriedness, paradigmatic opposition and relational meaning.

1. Obligatoriedness: the form *usted* or its verbal form is present or required in the language to express the(se) meaning(s) ✓
2. Paradigmatic opposition: the two linguistic features have to be in paradigmatic opposition. The withdrawal *usted* is expressed through speech acts in specific contexts that are different from the contexts in which the the approach *usted* is used. The two meanings are distributed between the two axis showing paradigmatic opposition ✓
3. Relational meaning: Grammatical categories have a common core of meaning or **function**. The common function in this case is to address the Other and keep/maintain/deal with face. The pragmatic elasticity provided by the pronoun allows the speaker to use the *usted* functionally, to satisfy his/her pragmatic needs. From a pragmatic perspective, the speaker chooses if he wants to approach or withdraw from the hearer. That option, such pragmatic elasticity, becomes part of the rules of the grammar of the language. ✓

In summary, following Diewald, pragmaticalization can be seen as a grammaticalization of discourse functions¹³².

¹³²In this point there is a coincidence between Diewald’s position and the definition of variable of discourse function provided by Pichler (2010)

6.8 *Usted*: form vs. function

In this consideration, there is the need to face the factor of form versus function. Clearly we have *one* pronoun with at least two functions. For Cypriot Greek, for example, it has been established that the V form use can not only differ among speakers, but also between Cypriot and Mainland Greek (as it would be, for example, the use of *usted* only as a withdrawal pronoun in Spain vs. the use of *usted* as both withdrawal and approach pronoun in Costa Rica or Colombia).

Terkourafi (2005) points out for the case of Cypriot Greek:

“The semantics of V forms would differ not only among speakers, but also for the same speaker on different occasions of use. Clearly, if we want to retain any sense of generality for our semantics, it is better to consider that what is changing every time is not the semantics of V usage, but rather its pragmatic exploitation” (Terkourafi 2005: 300).

This applies in the case of Cypriot Greek because the semantic of the V form is used always to express “deferentiality”. The fact that the semantic of the social deictic V changes and is based on code switching between the two varieties of Greek to mark the in-group allows the interpretation that Terkourafi provides for the case of Cypriot Greek. In the case of Costa Rican Colonial Spanish, the *usted* form expresses both withdrawal (deferentiality) and approach (non-deferentiality), specifically for the case of the two uses of *usted* in 19th and 20th centuries. This is different from Cypriot Greek, in which the V form always marks “deferentiality”. This also marks different uses regarding the face of the addressee, that is, different stances as it did before during the 16th, 17th and the 18th centuries. Again, in the first period the two stances were marked by the way the verb was used, in contexts in which the FTA was done to the negative face of the addressee. In the second period, the two stances are marked by the FTA, one to the negative face of the addressee and the other one as FTA to the positive face of the addressee. In the case of the second period, the one under discussion here, it was previously discussed how these examples exemplify the two different stances.

Example of an FTA to the positive face of the addressee:

- (9) “**Me echa usted en cara** un desatino que creo no haber dicho.” Letter from Carlos Gagini to Ricardo Fernández Guardia. June, 29th. 1894. [*“You throw in my face a*

blunder that I believe I did not say”.](expression of disagreement and also an accusation, a verdictive type of speech act)

Example of an FTA to the negative face:

(12)“Asi es que **haga lo que le paresca** [sic], **si Ud. se disgusta, pues ando por donde quiera**, pues son pantalones lo que cargo...”. Letter from Antonio Armilio Arce to Amadeo León. March, 6th. 1935 “***Do whatever you want, if you get upset, I am here (where you can find me), because I do have my pants on (meaning ‘I am not a coward, I have guts’).***” [*haga lo que le parezca ‘do whatever you want’ behavitive; si usted se disgusta, behavitive, ‘ando por donde quiera ‘warning/threat].*

The use of the social deictic *usted* is used within the same community to mark different stances of the speaker/writer towards the addressee and not to mark out- or in-group situations. Instead, in the case of Costa Rican Spanish, they are used to portray and communicate different types of speech acts and meanings. The fact that there is a pronoun with two different conditions of use calls for the interpretation of a pragmatic exploitation since the addressee understands through the context which meaning is being conveyed via the speech act¹³³.

6.8.1 A comparison between the approach uses (16/18th vs.19th/20th)

Attention should now be given to how the transition for the approach *usted* took place between the two segments of time specified for this study. The table below compares the examples offered for the current analysis and shows the contexts in which the approach *usted* took place from the 16th to the 18th century (few contexts) to the increased series of contexts in which the approach *usted* took place from the 19th to the 20th centuries.

¹³³ For example in the phrase *¿Dígame que hora es?* ‘What time is it?, compared to *Dígame si es verdad*, the addressee, from the context, knows if the verb *dígame* refers to ‘to tell’ or to ‘to confirm’.

FTA to the negative face non-deferential 16 th -18 th c.	FTA to negative face based on subject. Non-deferential (n=41). 19 th to 20 th century	
	Approach FTA to negative face (16-18 c)	Approach FTA to negative face (19-20 c) (n=41)
(3) me diga	Making a request, expositive	
(4) que mire usted	Order, request	
(10) Si no tuviera usted tan exquisito temperamento		Compliment, expression of admiration (behavitive act)
(11) Usted debiera estar sabido		Implicit warning (you better know about this) (expositive,behavitive act)
(12)Haga lo que le parezca, si ud se disgusta ando por donquiera		Expression of emotion (anger); warning (behavitive)

Table 6.11 Comparison of the examples and their contexts for approach use of *usted* 16th-18th centuries vs. 19th – 20th centuries

The following table 6.12 compares all the possible contexts in which the approach *usted* is used from the 16th century to the 20th century. The contexts of giving a suggestion and making a request remain in use across all four centuries. This can explain why in Quesada's chart the *usted* is present in both axes. The context of giving an order, present in the first period, is closer in meaning to the context of putting pressure on the H to perform some specific act:

Suggestion Order Request	Compliment Expression of admiration Reminding Warning Constraining Expression of negative emotions Promise Expression of same values of the H Suggestion/Advice Expressing thanks (damage to S) Offer Request Offering an excuse (damage to S) Expression of S's sentiments of the H Formulaic expression Putting pressure on the H to perform X act
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Table 6.12 Comparison of the context of the use of the approach *usted* from the 16th to the 20th centuries

The considerable expansion of contexts for the 19th and 20th centuries goes hand in hand with the percent increase in the use (see Chapter 5), but also is due to the fact that more data were available for this second period. All the contexts, from the 16th century to the 20th, in regard to the approach *usted*, show consistency in the fact that they constitute an FTA to the negative face of the addressee.

The previous exposition allows a perspective of the evolutionary path that the withdrawal and the approach *usted* have followed through 400 years.

- A. The withdrawal *usted* migrated from a “setting” in which the pronoun was used in contexts of FTAs to the negative face to the contexts of FTAs to the positive face. The approach use, on the other hand, stayed in the same “setting”, FTA to the negative face and expanded the contexts in which it could take place.
- B. Under the criteria of face, however, it is possible to see how the two uses have become specialized over the years. A different perspective, based on the concept of face, allows for a different understanding about the function of the pronoun, which is, to have a pronoun that will allow the speaker to approach the addressee or withdraw from the addressee, which usually in the previous Hispanic research literature has been

labeled as “deferential” (withdraw from someone) or “non-deferential” (approach someone).

For now, the following general rule can be given:

The “approach” *usted* is used in contexts in which the stance of the communicative or speech act is directed toward the addressee (as in examples (4) for the 16th to 18th c. and (12) for the 19th to 20th c.), but in the context of the speaker making a FTA to the negative face of the H/R when the speaker forces an agreement with the H/R (Brown , & Levinson: 65-67) or make requests or statements that threaten or impede the free will and freedom of action of the addressee:

(4) “...que **mire** (usted) que se lo lleva el Diablo”...Cartago, 1724. ACM: c.11, 1,4. Fo. 434 [...*realize* (usted) that the Devil is going to take you away...]

(12) “Asi es que **haga lo que le parezca** [sic], **si Ud. se disgusta, pues ando por donde quiera**, pues son pantalones lo que cargo...”. Letter from Antonio Armilio Arce to Amadeo León. March, 6th. 1935.

“Do whatever you want, if you get upset, I am here(where you can find me), because I do have my pants on.” (meaning ‘I am not a coward, I have guts’), [haga lo que le parezca ‘do whatever you want’behavitive; si usted se disgusta, behavitive, ‘ando por donde quiera’warning/threat]

In both periods the attention of the speaker is given to the addressee, even if the attention implies, as in this case, an FTA to the negative face of the addressee.

In the withdrawal use (or the FTA to the positive face) in the letters of 19-20th centuries the Speaker/Writer threatens the addressee’s Hearer/Reader positive face, through expressions of disapproval, contradictions , disagreements or challenge (Brown & Levinson: 66-67) as in example (9):

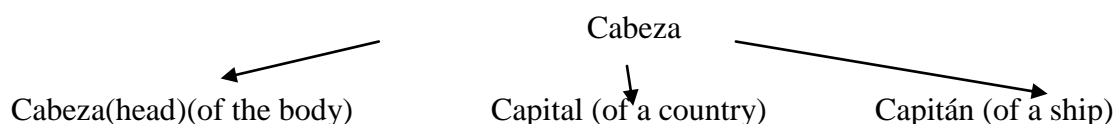
(9) “.... **me echa usted en cara** un desatino que creo no haber dicho.” Letter from Carlos Gagini to Ricardo Fernández Guardia. June, 29th. 1894. [*“you throw in my face a blunder that I believe I did not say.”*](*Expression of disagreement and also an accusation, a verdictive type of speech act*)

After providing examples for the uses of the pronoun *usted*, the next section will provide a theoretical description of the pronouns and how the pronoun *usted* is seen, from a conceptual perspective within the notion of face. Other concepts in relationship with face will be introduced that will contribute to a new understanding of the pronoun and a new understanding of the concepts of withdrawal and approach applied to the pronoun *usted*.

6.9 Theoretical description of the two uses of the pronoun **usted**

Following the work in semantic change that has been developed by Traugott and Dasher, it is the purpose of this section to provide a different perspective on the understanding and conceptualization of the pronoun *usted*. A new approach is proposed for the understanding of the use of the pronoun *usted* based on semantic change and based on the concept of face.

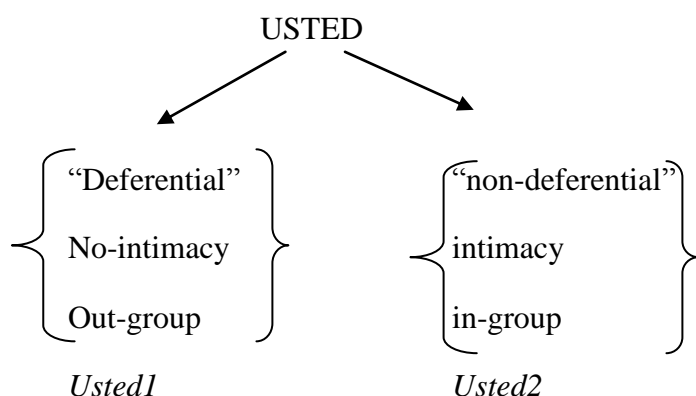
The theory of semantic change proposes that for each lexeme, there is a general concept that underlies that lexeme and that can, eventually, be shared by other lexemes of the same lexical family. As an example, the Latin n. *caput, capitis* ‘head’ is related in Spanish to words such as *cabeza* ‘head’, *capital* ‘capital’ (of a country) and ‘capitán’ ‘captain’. The concept ‘head’ is shared and underlies the three words *cabeza*, *capital*, and *capitán*, meaning the main part of something (in this case, of the body, of a country and the commander (head officer) of a ship). That concept constitutes a concept that hierarchically speaking is “higher”:



In the previous example the concept of *cabeza* (< Lat. N. *caput, capitia*) as the ‘head’ or the more important part is the higher structural concept and the lexemes *cabeza*, *capital* and *capitán* are the lexemes that share that common concept.

In regard to the pronoun *usted*, consideration is proposed of the social deictic *USTED*, as a term that also has a higher structural concept, specifically, face. Traditionally, the social deictic *usted* has been analyzed as having two meanings that could be broken down into different types of dichotomies such as deferential/non-deferential; non-intimacy/intimacy; out-group/in-group. The first member of each pair could be classified as meaning 1 (M1 or *Usted1*) and the second member of the pair as meaning 2 (M2 or *Usted2*). The grouping of which characteristics apply to *Usted1* and which ones apply to *Usted2* is based on purely historical factors of the Spanish

Language. As explained in Chapter 1, *Vuestra Merced* and then *usted* appeared first (*Usted1*), with “deferential” meaning (also implying non-intimacy and out-group), around the 15th century and the “non-deferential” meaning has been reported as appearing later in history in the dialects spoken in Latin America (and therefore, *Usted2*)¹³⁴.



According to Traugott and Dasher (2005), in semantic change, a structural concept is attached to each expression, and that structural concept is “higher” in the structure or at a higher conceptual level. The traditional approach (Lapesa 1997, Penny, 1991/2002) has considered that this structural concept is respect.

What is proposed here is consideration of the notion of face as the core concept, the structural concept that underlies the social deictic *usted*. This proposal comes from the understanding that the notion of face is basic to human nature (Terkourafi, 2009). This takes into account the notion of Face 2 proposed by Terkourafi, following the distinction between first and second politeness and the biological grounding given to Face 2 as a theoretical construct. According to Terkourafi (2009: 270)¹³⁵ :

¹³⁴ Here, the terms deferential and non-deferential are kept since those are the terms traditionally employed in Hispanic Linguistics Literature.

¹³⁵ The notion of Face 2 and Face 1 are repeated here: Face 2 is the notion of face that takes into account two properties and it is proposed as a universal notion of face, a notion of face that will hold for all speech communities. Face 2 is based on human properties and 1. Has a biological grounding that allows for withdrawal/approach and 2. It has intentionality, that is, both participants work together in directing their actions with intention when relating to each other. They cannot direct their intentions in isolation, and it is because of the presence of “other” that face concerns arise. Face 1 will be Face 2 put into practice in a specific cultural community. It would be Face2 being put in context, under the specific cultural and societal expressions of how face is understood in a specific society or group, as it is understood by that group. In this study, this notion is of face 2 is considered given the fact that the notion of face in the colonial Costa Rican dialect is different from the way the same notion is understood in other dialects.

“The biological grounding of Face 2 refers to its grounding in the dimension of approach/withdrawal a dimension that goes well beyond the realm of the human (Davidson 1992: 259). Approach or withdrawal result when a stimulus is evaluated as friendly or hostile respectively (...) The literature on human emotions is interspersed with observations highlighting the phylogenetically primary, universal, and pre-conscious nature of approach/withdrawal. These properties make approach/withdrawal a natural candidate to serve as the basis for a universalizing notion of Face 2 ‘divorc[ed] from any type of ties to folk notions (O’Driscoll, 1996: 8). The biological grounding of Face 2 in approach/withdrawal thus affords us with an explanation for its universality and dualism between positive (approach) and negative (withdrawal) aspects, without for that matter introducing an unwarranted hierarchy between these two aspects”. (Terkourafi 2009: 270)

It is proposed then, that face should be regarded as the core meaning of the structural concept related to functions of *usted*. The biological grounding of face (Terkourafi, 2005), with the concepts of approach / withdrawal will give then a framework to the structure of the pronoun *usted*. The notion of face 1, that is, the specificities of the general notion of face (or face 2 as a general and universal notion of face) inserted in the specific speech community will be the ones described (in old terms) as deferential and non-deferential and will correspond to what was described as FTAs to positive face (withdrawal *usted*) and FTAs to negative face (approach *usted*)¹³⁶. The next figure explains this new understanding of the use of the pronouns from the perspective of face¹³⁷. A new proposal for understanding the structure and articulation of the semantics of the pronoun *usted*, based on the concept of face will look thus:

¹³⁶ As a contrast, for example, in contemporary Penninsular Spanish from Spain, *usted* will have solely a withdrawal function, whereas the other second person singular pronoun *tú* will have the approach function. The structure or value of face will be distributed differently within this dialect.

¹³⁷ This figure was created by the author of the study and it is based in some previous ideas presented by Traugott and Dasher for their study in semantic change (2005). The diagram is original and cannot be found in any other source.

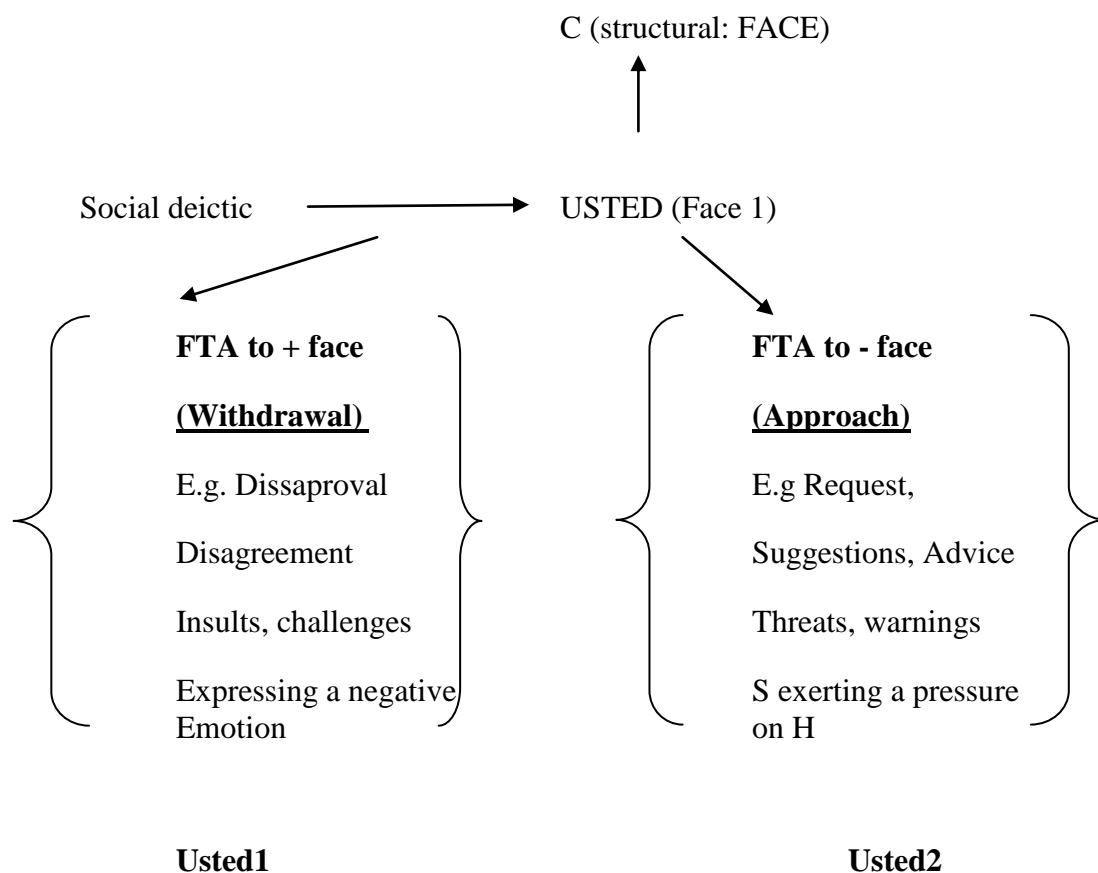


Figure 6.1 Uses of pronouns from the perspective of face

The reassessment of the semantics of the pronoun *usted*, based on the articulation of the FTAs and the type of speech acts they portrait, are, for that reason being presented in this study as withdrawal or approach functions of the pronoun (Terkourafi 2009). What historically has been labeled as the “deferential” meaning are portrayed through acts of disapproval, contradiction, disagreement, etc. These types of speech acts constitute speech acts through which the speakers (writer) **withdraws** from the hearer (reader), establishing a distance between them, making a FTA to the positive face. In a similar fashion, what traditionally has been classified as “non-deferential” meaning is conveyed through speech acts of requests, warnings, promises, suggestions and advice, thus moving the speaker (writer) closer to the hearer (reader), and the speaker **approaches** the addressee.

The traditional approach of “deferential”, implying the idea of distance and withdrawal, is performed through speech acts of disapproval, contradiction and disagreement; these types of speech acts **contribute to distancing the speaker from the hearer or addressee**. They also communicate the ideas of non-intimacy and the intention to stay out-group.

Also, the traditional definition of “non-deferential” is conveyed through speech acts of requests, warnings, promises, suggestions and advice, actions that require the speaker to interact with the hearer in a closer way, with less distance, as a way to approach so that he/she can achieve his/her goals. This approach also allows observation of speech acts as they were described above, as acts that will establish intimacy and the intention to stay in-group.

Terkourafi points out that Face 2¹³⁸ is a universal notion that in each speech community/language is filled with specific content. She also points out that the intentionality is the property that makes Face 2 a human characteristic, because intentionality:

“...is understood as the distinguishing property of mental (as opposed to physical) phenomena about something (...) Beliefs, hopes, judgments, intentions, love and hatred all exhibit intentionality, in that they presuppose that which is being believed, hoped, judged, intended, loved or hated. Similarly, Face 2 is intentional in that it presupposes an Other toward whom it is directed. Awareness of the Other, in turn, presupposes an awareness of the Self, known to emerge from around nine months onwards...”
(Terkourafi 2009: 270).

The following process, **pragmaticalization**, is proposed as the way the expansion of the uses and specialization of the pronoun *usted* took place:

1. The speakers statements go through a process of subjectification (through which he/she conceives the use of *usted* regarding the interaction with the addressee)¹³⁹.

¹³⁸ Face 2, **again** is the notion of face that takes into account two properties and it is proposed as a universal notion of face, a notion of face that will hold for all speech communities. Face 2 is based on human properties and 1. Has a biological grounding that allow for withdrawal/approach and 2. It has intentionality, that is, both participants work together in direct their actions with intention when relating to each other. They cannot direct their intentions in isolation; it is because of the presence of other that face concerns arise.

¹³⁹ Traugott and Dasher say regarding the notion of subjectification: “Subjectification draws on cognitive principles but takes place in the context of communication and rethorical strategizing. It falls directly out of SP/W- AD/R interactions, and the competing motivations of speakers to be informative and of addressees to construe invited inferences. In particular, it is the metonymically based process by which SP/W recruit meanings that function to

2. The addressee receives the pronoun *usted*, he/she decodes it, that is, the addressee performs/completes the invited inference that could be either the withdrawal function *Usted1* (FTA to positive face) or *Usted2*, the approach use, (FTA to the negative face)
3. At the last stage of the process, the specialization of *Usted2* through the pragmatic choices is incorporated into the system, that is, the functions become pragmaticalized/grammaticalized and encoded on the social deictic/pronoun *usted*.

The *usted* in Spanish did not develop any morphological mark to establish the difference between the *Usted1* and the *Usted2*. **There are no affixes or morphological markers** that will point to the different meanings of *usted*, therefore the “mark” should be found in another place. Previous studies, such as the one of Traugott and Dasher, are related to the use of the forms regarding social standing and the deictic space (as it happens in the T/V systems in European languages). In the case of Costa Rican Spanish the deictic space or ground is pragmatic in nature and it is related to the way the interaction takes place and to what aspect of the face of the addressee the speaker pays attention to (to the positive face -withdrawal use- or to the negative face - approach use), as it was already mentioned.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, a very good point of comparison in the development of social deixis is also the case of English. Costa Rican Spanish is not like English, in which historically the T/V distinction is lost and the mechanism used (developed in the system) to provide social distance is the word order (Traugott and Dasher: 257). In the case of Costa Rican Colonial Spanish, the development of the system provides a new meaning to a form already existent; instead of “shrinking” the form, *usted* “extends” its use, by keeping the same pronoun and using it with a more general scope¹⁴⁰. Again, this is the type of change in which the structural scope is reduced but the semantic scope is expanded (Diewald, 2011: 12)

convey information to do the work of communication: to express and to regulate beliefs, attitudes, etc. It therefore inevitably involves intersubjectivity to some degree.” (Traugott and Dasher 2005: 31).

¹⁴⁰ These types of semantic changes, that are unidirectional as Traugott and Dasher pointed out, have been proven to show tendencies regarding face. For example, the replacement of *pray* by *please* in English (which is a change that focuses on AD/R) has been seen as a shift that signals paying attention to “negative face” (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 257).

The fact that the system extends or expands clearly signals, from a structural perspective that the system goes from the simplest to a more complex distribution in the semantic field.

The development of both meanings, from the social perspective, appears to be a survival positive strategy: used to safely navigate social interactions. The pronoun *usted* becomes a sort of “wild card” and covers both uses (withdrawal and approach, the former usually expressed, in Costa Rican Modern Spanish, by the pronoun *vos*).

This new perspective on the analysis of the pronoun *usted*, based on the concept of face, puts aside notions that have been traditionally attached to the analysis of T-V systems and that have been considered factors “sine qua non”. It also questions the way the T-V system in Spanish has been understood since the appearance of *Vuestra Merced* (and its development to *usted*) at the end of the 15th century. Notions such as solidarity and power in relation to the T/V system acquire a different meaning. The expression of solidarity would use speech acts that keep the speaker closer to the addressee when requesting, warning or promising, and expressions of power might employ acts or expressions of disapproval, disagreement and/or contradiction and therefore keep the speaker away from the addressee. The existing model based on power and solidarity is insufficient in that it doesn’t get to the point of explaining, from a pragmatic/linguistic perspective, why speakers/hearers are closer in certain circumstances and why they keep distance in other circumstances.

An explanation based on face, allows an explanation for being closer or keeping distance in terms other than solidarity and power. These terms are based on a biological grounding of face, which Terkourafi defines as “...the biological grounding of face in the dimension of approach versus withdrawal...” (Terkourafi 2005: 270).

It is important also to consider that, from this perspective, these meanings, those portrayed by the speech acts also imply a different understanding of human relationships and interactions, an aspect that will go along with the concept that face is biological in nature.

6.10 The ideological analysis of *usted*, social dynamics and social flux

Another perspective of the semantic change of *usted* refers to an external factor that could have triggered its evolution. Research carried out by Held (1999) points out the fact that politeness strategies, or more specifically, the ideology of politeness, is a reflection of social power relations. Held's research focuses on European languages and the function of politeness; in her own words, as follows:

“Politeness in other words, is based in the stronger giving power symbolically to the weaker and thereby setting in motion a mechanism of reciprocal exchange or balance of power that upholds the existing social relationships, and interprets and perpetuates them by constantly reformulating them. [...] but all more efficiently, serves **to strengthen the power of those who already posses it**”. (Held: 21; my emphasis).

The phrase highlighted above is of major relevance in this analysis, since, in the case under study, it seems that it does not hold true for Costa Rican Spanish. More than simply strengthening the power of those who already posses it, it is proposed that *usted* becomes a tool for the weak to navigate the structure and imposition of those with power. Socio-economic history of Costa Rica from colonial times up to the nineteenth century (when the major change in the meaning of *usted* takes place) suggests that the semantic change is triggered by a very different cause. The expansion of *usted*, covering the entire possible spectrum of politeness, is used as a “wild card”, as a ‘neutral’ expression used to navigate and counterweight the differences in the balance of power. To understand how this expansion of the pronoun *usted* occurred, it is important to connect the main socio-political changes that Costa Rican society experienced through its colonial history and, mainly, during the 19th century, immediately after independence, with the linguistic evolution of the pronoun *usted*

It is argued here that the address system came to reflect this dual status of interaction in Costa Rican daily life, through the evolution of the pronoun *usted* to express not only situations in which the speaker withdraws from the hearer (FTA to the negative face), but also to express situations in which the speaker comes closer to the hearer, expressing an approach value (FTA to the negative face). After presenting the socio-historical context and the socio-historical evolution

of Costa Rican society, it is clearer now why the approach use of the pronoun *usted* in terms of Face Threatening Acts to the face of the addressee is suitable and more appropriate for this region. In a context in which the unequal distribution of power was the pattern, language is the only “tool” available to people of limited power or influence to navigate such structures of power. As mentioned earlier, it is proposed that the pronoun *usted* acted as a “wild card” or more neutral expression to cover all types of interactions and still “keep face”.

By expanding the semantics of the pronoun *usted* and the specialization of the contexts and all these functions into one pronoun, all possible interactions and face-related situations are therefore covered. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that in the productive unit of the family, both types of interaction were involved: the one related to work and the one related to family relationships, using the pronoun *usted*, again, as an expression or “wild card” that will cover all possible interactions in this context also. In the course of explaining the process of the emergence of *Usted2*, it is now clear how much impact economic dynamics could have on the society and how language could mirror those social changes. With the loss of the consuetudinary legal system, those that did not belong to the elite had to find an alternative way to navigate the structures of power imposed on them. Given the fact that the access to the legal system, at least at institutional level, still existed, the best way to navigate the system and not be excluded was reflected in language through the use of a form that will bring the status within the dyad of interaction on one hand and, on the other hand, the same form allowed members of the working class to interact with each other while handling family and work relationships simultaneously. This dynamic of the society signaled the transition between the two types of societies (*Gemeinschaft* to *Gesselschaft*) mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. *Gemeinschaft* type of societies were more inclusive groups, more tight socially with little need of linguistic negotiation since the network of social relationships was strong; these are societies ruled by consensus (e.g. the decision making processes before 1750), with common values and ideas. *Gesselschaft* type of societies, in the particular case of Costa Rica, instead of an industrial/urban profile, developed a form of agrarian capitalism. The country evolved into a more capitalistic society, characterized by mechanical social relationships, or relationships based on exchange of services for money, lack of deep intimacy, a society ruled by contract (e.g. legal system of 1750 and forward) , with a high degree of role differentiation.

In these types of societies, the use of the language followed different purposes. Terkourafi points out:

“...regarding the role of explicit linguistic negotiation in *Gemeinschaft* as opposed to *Gessellschaft*. In the former, explicit linguistic negotiation should be minimal, commonality of origin and purpose guaranteeing shared understandings (...) In the latter, explicit linguistic negotiation should be necessary to bridge the gap left by the lack of deeper intimacy. Such negotiation will itself take the form of a linguistic contract that, like money,, is only meaningful against the backdrop of the society that institutes it (c.f Werkhofer, 1992), and that, like all exchanges between a seller and a buyer in which offer and acceptance by both sides must exactly coincide’ (Tönnies,2001: 54) is predicated upon their rationality and the differentiation of their roles. **George’s (1990: 89-112) analysis of the different illocutionary interpretations of the same utterance depending on the diverging pragmatic presupposition of the speakers from the industrial North of Italy as opposed to the rural South provides prima facie confirmation of these predictions as well as an apt example of the usefulness of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gessellschaft* as analytical tools in the analysis of discourse**” (Terkourafi, 2009: 6, my emphasis).

It is also important to remember that the interactions of both groups in Costa Rican colonial society were built during 18th century, on the base of mutual dependency and unequal access to the same structure and that the elite could not impose itself too much on the working class. The working class did have ways to fight back against unequal situations, and those relationships were created within a shared culture, shared values, aspects that built a solidarity network among its members, despite the unequal access to land, education and economic –but not social- possibilities.

This interaction between the language and the social changes experienced by the Costa Rican society through its colonial and postcolonial history constitutes an example of how the language can reflect the social dynamics. Through its history and the study of the combination of these linguistic and extralinguistic factors it is possible to see a society in cultural, economic and social flux, and how people would turn language into a resource to navigate through the dynamics imposed by the transition from a rural society into a society characterized by a different economic pattern. The development of the pronoun *usted*, in this context, contributed to satisfy the pragmatic necessities of the speakers in a society characterized by multiple types of

relationships within the same historical, linguistic, social and cultural background, reflecting, thus, the vivacity of the society, its speakers and its language.

Other aspects of Costa Rican life that had a strong impact, and actually implied conflict at the level of the power structure was the legalization of prostitution and all the control machinery set up for that purpose towards the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. As a result of the process of legalization of prostitution and laws imposed on the population in that matter, people developed ways to fight back against these impositions. The social pressure they exerted over themselves resulted in a division in the population itself between “decent” people and “not so decent” people. Eventually, community issues other than moral behavior were brought to court and people inverted the power structure. The fact that *usted* could be used with such elasticity was also promoted by these pragmatic situations in which positive and negative face could be supported or threatened. But this aspect of the phenomenon is not covered here.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Conclusions

This dissertation has covered many aspects in the development of the address form system in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish, both from the internal perspective as well as from the external aspect of the language (sociolinguistics factors) related to use and meaning of the second person singular pronouns. The results offered by this study reveal important information in the realm of linguistics regarding the covariation of second person pronouns within the same context or turn made by the speakers. It also tries to present structured information in regard to the evolution of the pronoun *usted* and the meaning(s) conveyed by the use of this pronoun. In a similar way, the information regarding the evolution of the pronoun *usted* involves both linguistic and sociolinguistic arguments with a strong socio-historical and economic background.

7.1 First period: from the 16th to the 18th centuries

The analysis of the data for the first period under survey (from the 16th century to the 18th century) provided an important point of reference to understand the development of the address forms system in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish. The use of the second person singular pronouns are characterized by the covariation of the pronouns and also by the expansion of the use of *usted*. One important contribution brought by this study was to make evident that there is a need to separate different types of texts in which the analysis is based. For this research it was relevant to establish that those texts that are administrative in character had to be analyzed separately from those texts that reflected daily interactions (excerpts, family letters, personal letters). This division in the current study allowed the demonstration that the address forms in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish do not show traces of being chaotic, as had been stated before (Quesada, 2005). Quite to the contrary, it showed the opposite tendency.

Those letters written/addressed to someone that belonged to the Spanish Crown administrative system consistently displayed the use of nominal address forms such as *Vuestra Merced* or *Vuestra Señoría*. No covariation was detected in these letters. The excerpts displayed

a very different pattern: the second person address pronouns were employed, in some cases without covariation; in other cases, with covariation.

Regarding the covariation, the next table summarizes the tendencies observed both in letters and excerpts

	Same gender		Different gender	
	Letter	Excerpts	Letters	Excerpts
Equal relationship	No covariation	Covariation in both genders	No data available	Covariation in both genders
Non-equal relationship	No covariation	Covariation is present between individuals of the same gender	No covariation	No data available

Table 7.1 Variation in regard to generation, 16th to 18th centuries

As presented in the table above, covariation is present in the excerpts but not in the letters. The interaction between gender and type of relationship provided interesting results, depending on the type of relationship and gender of the interactants. For example, as reflected in the excerpts, independent of the status of the relationship, covariation was present for both genders. It is logical to conclude that the covariation did not depend on the gender. The letters do not display covariation, regardless of gender or type of relationship. Considering that neither gender nor type of relationship were relevant variables, it was possible to determine that covariation was conditioned by pragmatic factors that were highly dependent on the context.

The analysis made for this first period also included an analysis of the variation according the type of bond individuals shared, specifically, if the individuals were related or not. The results of the analysis determined that individuals with no family ties did not covariate if the interaction was official or administrative in nature. The excerpts reflected a different situation: for individuals with no family bonds, two forms were employed. Nominal address forms were used to address individuals that were friars or priests (status as religious persona); the pronominal form *vos* (peninsular) was employed for the other interactions (no relatives). In the case of relatives, covariation was present.

This first period also revealed interesting tendencies regarding the evolution of the address form system as a subsystem of the language. In these two centuries (16th-18th centuries) the letters displayed nominal address forms during the whole period. Excerpts displayed the tendency to show more pronominal forms than nominal address forms, but they also showed an increase in the use of the pronoun *usted* in comparison to *Vuestra Merced*. It was important to detect this subtle increase because it allowed seeing a partial phase of the grammaticalization process that the pronoun *usted* has been undergoing in the last five centuries: less reference to the nominal form *Vuestra Merced* compensated by an increase of the pronoun *usted*.

On the analysis of variation of address forms carried out for this study, it was of particular relevance to analyze variation while paying attention to all linguistic syntactic categories, not only to the subject pronouns or nominal address forms used as the subject of a sentence. As a result of observing variation happening through different linguistic variables, it was possible to determine an increase in the variation of the verbal forms in the second half of the 18th century. One particular aspect found in this increase of the verbal forms, was to confirm the use of verbal forms of *tú* at written level. This observation has been made previously (Quesada 1990, 2005). What is relevant regarding this study was to determine that the form *tú* was already in covariation with other pronominal forms at written level (e.g. male individuals with the same social standing show covariation between *tú* and *usted*).

7.2 Second period: From the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century

The analysis of the second period also reflects interesting tendencies in regard to the covariation in the use of the second person singular pronouns. In this period, the variation was also studied taking into account if the individual shared familiar relationships vs. persons that did not share family ties.

Variation was found between siblings (male to male, male to female) and between mother and son. It was determined that the alternative use of the pronouns is motivated by the interest of the speaker to keep face, to establish different type of identities through the face they are keeping and also to minimize Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) that may be done during a specific interaction.

The interaction between siblings reflects changes in the use of the pronouns (variation) in contexts in which the speakers are keeping different types of identities (as has been established

by Spencer-Oatey, 2007) and therefore, different types of faces. The shift in the pronouns, the study found, is a mechanism employed by the speaker to establish or determine a specific identity and face during the communication exchange. Consistently in all the family exchanges, each time the speaker decided to approach the Hearer, the speaker chose an approach or a withdrawal pronoun. Also, the speech act was expressed through the use of specific type of verbs that communicated the idea of approaching to or withdrawing from the speaker. In the case of interaction between mother and son, the shift in the pronouns takes place when the mother refers to situations related to the family and uses another pronoun when making recommendations, suggestions. As in the exchange between siblings, the use of one pronoun or another goes in hand with the type of speech act performed by the speaker. Other relationships within the frame of family structure do not show variation. In these communicative exchanges the topic of the communicative act is more official and the interactants are not keeping different types of faces, as it in the case of two brothers that exchange instructions about events related to the 1856 war. Other types of interactions also show variation, such as the one between a General and a Soldier (example 14) in which the shift from *usted* to *vos* is produced. The shift to *vos* takes place when the general wants to encourage the soldier to perform a risky action. As a general tendency in the covariation, this analysis could determine that variation or the shift in the pronoun takes place when the speaker wishes to signal a change in his or her face. In these contexts, the shift is made to also keep a specific type of identity: that is, to assume different roles (as a brother, sister or mother).

The only types of exchange between relatives that do not follow this pattern are the interactions between husbands and wives. This result is consistent across the letters written between spouses; they are consistently written in *tú* form. It was not possible to determine any factor that could condition the lack of variation. The only possible explanation is to consider the social level of the writers: one of the writers is the president of the country at the moment when he writes the letter; another of the writers is a General of the Army. The level of education could have played a role in the fact that the letter is written in *tú*. *Tú* has been the form traditionally taught in formal education, which at that time, was available only to certain higher class, elite people.

Other interactions that do not show any kind of variation are those exchanges between friends, acquaintances and neighbors (male neighbors). In these exchanges it was established that the use of *usted* is very predominant.

In the previous period from the 16th to the 18th century it was determined that more than gender or type of relationship, it was the context what determined if the covariation took place or not. In this second period from the 19th to the first half of the 20th centuries it was also determined than more than the gender, what determined covariation was the context. That is, the covariation is conditioned by pragmatic factors that are related both to the maintenance of face and the identity (face) sustained during the interaction. Also, the type of speech acts uttered during such interactions has demonstrated to be a relevant factor (Vega González, 2005). Both aspects, maintenance of face/identity and the type of speech acts uttered during the interaction help to fulfill the pragmatic needs of the speaker. In addition, the pronouns not only participate in the variation within the discourse (pragmatic needs), but also the pronouns possess the linguistic characteristics needed for linguistic elements to be in variation: they have differential distributions, they have underlying similarity from a morphological point of view and they also have salience.

The frequencies established for this study in terms of how often each pronoun/verbal form was used allowed demonstration of an increase in the use of the pronoun *usted* during the first half of the 20th century. This increase in frequency goes in hand with the expansion of the meaning of the pronoun *usted*. This increase makes clear how important and widespread the use of this pronoun was at the beginning of the 20th century.

The evolution of the pronoun *usted* and an explanation about its development constitute the main contribution of this study. The focus of the analysis was to determine why and how the pronoun *usted* expanded its meaning and gained so much elasticity as to be used in two different forms: one, to withdraw from the speaker which is the *Usted1* and second, to approach the hearer, which is the *Usted2*.

From an internal perspective of the language, it was found that the pronoun *usted* underwent two different processes. The first process, grammaticalization, explains the evolution of the nominal form *Vuestra Merced* to the pronominal form *usted*. This process examined changes that are particular to this type of process: phonological attrition, morphological reanalysis and semantic bleaching. During this grammaticalization process in the 16th to 18th

centuries, the function that the pronoun *usted* already serves in the 16th century is a withdrawal pronoun. It was determined that this use was linked with the literal meaning of the verbs. In addition, it was determined that uses of the pronoun *usted* in conjunction with verbs that are not used literally, but rather have a pragmatic exploitation, were used with the *usted* as an approach pronoun.

It was also shown that the use of the *usted* either as an approach or as a withdrawal pronoun was directly linked with the type of verbs employed in the speech acts conveyed by the writers. For the withdrawal use of *usted*, speech acts of performative nature to exert some pressure on the hearer/reader were employed. In addition, to use the pronoun *usted* in conjunction with speech acts such as communicating orders or making requests were found to be uses of the pronoun *usted* as an approach pronoun. The more important find of this period was to establish that towards the end of the 18th century the *usted* already started to display a different meaning through the pragmatic exploitation of the verbs (Terkourafi: 2005). It was also determined that the use of *Vuestra Merced* and *usted* during this period were cases of Face Threatening Acts to the negative face of the hearer. This is an important conclusion of the analysis of the first period and was relevant for the analysis of the second period under study (19th to 20th centuries).

The second process, pragmaticalization, was found to bring a further specialized use of the pronoun. This specialization is related to face as well. In some cases the uses are FTAs to the negative face of the addressee; in other cases the uses are related to the positive face of the addressee.

The next table summarizes the uses, based on type of speech acts and what kind of FTA they exert on the R/H. The table also shows an important aspect which is that the contexts are mutually exclusive, showing, again, one of the more important traits of processes such as grammaticalization:

FTA to – face based on verbal forms, Approach (n=7)	FTA to – face based on subject pronoun. Approach. (n = 35)	FTA to + face, Withdrawal, Subject based (n= 35)
Putting pressure on the H to perform X act	Compliment	Increased possibility that an FTA will occur (sensitive topic)
Formulaic expression	Expression of admiration	No common values between S/W and H/R
Expression of S's sentiments of the H	Reminding	Belittling/Boasting
Suggestion	Warning	Dissapproval
	Constraining	Statements
	Expression of negative emotions	Expression of an emotion
	Promise	Confession
	Expression same value of the H	Acceptance of a compliment/gift
	Suggestion/Advice	Accusation
	Expressing thanks (damage to S)	Indifference to the + face needs of H/R
	Request	Self-humiliation
	Offering an excuse (damage to S)	
	Offer	

Table 7.2 FTA to negative and positive face: Withdrawal and Approach uses from the 19th to the 20th centuries

The specialized use mentioned before during this second period of pragmaticalization, **is that the performed FTAs are directed to the positive face of the addressee.**

In summary, both periods of analysis in regard to the pronoun *usted* show different patterns:

1. In the first period from the 16th to the 18th centuries the speech acts reflected solely FTAs to the negative face of the addressee
2. During this first period the withdrawal and approach uses were expressed, respectively as follows:
 - a. Withdrawal by literal meaning.**
 - b. Approach by semantic/pragmatic exploitation.**
3. In regard to the withdrawal meaning:
 - a. In the first period the withdrawal use was an FTA to the negative face

- b. In the second period, the withdrawal use was an FTA to the positive face.

That is, the withdrawal use moved to a new context, e.g. FTA to the positive face; the approach use was left in the context of FTA to the negative face.

That is why in previous research such as the one carried out by Quesada (2005) the *usted* appeared in both axis of communication. They are different types of *usted*, what have been labeled as *usted1* (withdrawal) and *usted2* (approach). Again, the appearance of this pronoun on both axes is not chaotic, but instead is motivated by specific, pragmatic uses. The withdrawal *usted* moved to a new context but the previous axis was not left empty. The fact that *usted* could be used both as a FTA to the negative and also to the positive face justifies its presence on both sides. The *usted2*, the one used to approach the R/H is what in Costa Rica has been called “el otro usted” (“the other usted”; Vargas, 1974).

Century	Withdrawal relationship	Approach relationship
16 th - 17 th	Vos Vuestra merced	Tú
18 th	Usted Su merced	Vos Tú Usted
19 th	Usted	Vos Tú Usted
20 th	Usted	Vos Tú (incipient) Usted

Table 7.3 Reanalysis of Quesada's address for system used in Costa Rican Spanish

7.3 Semantic expansion of *usted*: subjectification/pragmaticalization

This semantic expansion of the pronoun *usted* was explained (Chapter 6) through the notion of subjectification. This notion, advanced in previous research by Traugott (2005) and put in connection with the process of pragmaticalization (grammaticalization) by Diewald (2011) is based on the fact that meaning is based on the Writer/Speaker's perspective. Subjectification is considered a part of the grammaticalization process and therefore part of the semantic change (Diewald, 2011). The use is given to the pronoun by the writer/speaker, along with a specific use

of a type of verb, according to the communicative needs of the participant in the exchange. That is the pragmatic part. In a grammaticalization process, usually the structural scope is reduced and the semantic scope is expanded. That is exactly the case of the pronoun *usted* during this second period. *Usted* reduces its structural scope in that by expressing a new meaning, no new linguistic feature is produced or created in the language. At the same time, the semantic scope is expanded to cover not just withdrawal functions but also approach functions. In this semantic expansion, *usted* fulfills all the criteria of grammaticalization: obligatoriedness, paradigmatic opposition and relational meaning (see Chapter 6, section 6.7 for a detailed analysis).

These results of the evolution and development of this pronoun led this study to consider a different theoretical perspective on how *usted* has been seen, understood and studied within the realm of Spanish linguistic or Spanish language studies. Traditionally, it has been considered that the core meaning of *usted* has been respect and/or deferentiality. Considering this notion as the core of this pronoun has made it difficult to explain or even to start to understand how it is that the pronoun *usted* has developed this use of closeness and/or approach. This is not the expected use of *usted* in many parts of the Spanish Speaking world. In general, studies that have mentioned this other meaning of *usted* limit themselves to point out its use, when it is used and with which intentions, but so far, no study has provided an explanation as to how this new meaning or this new function developed.

This doctoral research proposed a new classification. The new classification brought the notion of face as the core notion that underlies the meanings of the pronoun *usted*. With that concept at the very base to explain the *usted 1* and the *usted 2* as functions of the pronoun, it is possible to understand how in certain contexts the writer/speaker withdraws from the addressee or approaches the addressee. Before, with only the notion of respect, it was not possible to determine why *usted* was used in an intimate way, as a marker of in-group, for example. Hence, also this dissertation proposed new terms to classify the uses of the pronoun. Instead of deferential vs. non-deferential, the terms withdrawal and approach are proposed. This proposal of the notion of face as the core meaning of the pronoun *usted* comes from the understanding that face is basic to human nature (Terkourafi, 2005).

7.4 Steps of the process of pragmaticalization

It is proposed that the pragmaticalization process followed this path:

First the writer/speaker selects the *usted* as withdrawal or as approach pronoun according to the meaning or communicative intention the writer/speaker desires to convey. This is a process of subjectification and highly pragmatic in character since the meaning is based on the selection of the speaker. Through consistent use of specific types of speech acts to convey one meaning or the other, the expansion of the meaning of *usted* and its specialization is produced. At the end of the pragmaticalization/grammaticalization process it was determined that those pragmatic choices became incorporated in the language as functions in the language. Moreover, they are functions that became grammaticalized/pragmaticalized within the discourse.

This development of the pronoun *usted* did not happen in a vacuum. The evolution and expansion on the use of this pronoun was determined by a series of social changes occurred over a 400 years period. During this period, Costa Rican society made a remarkable transition from a society built around an economy of subsistence, with very tight social networks, to a society based on agrarian capitalism.

It has been proposed, based on the two uses/functions/meanings of *usted* (approach/withdrawal), that *usted* is used as a 'wild card' by speakers to navigate structures of power that resulted from the transition to an agrarian capitalism society. The expansion of the meaning already discussed is rooted in different socio-political factors.

Among the factors that could have triggered these changes, the following are mentioned:

1. Demise of the consuetudinary legal system: The Costa Rican legal system before 1750 was based on common agreement; differences between people were resolved through personal negotiation or mediated negotiation. Later on, Costa Rican society transitioned to a formal legal system in which personal representation was discouraged, but given the previous system, the access to the legal system and institutions was guaranteed and lay people had still access to it. The use of *usted* as a 'wild card' made possible to the individuals to navigate legal systems from which otherwise they might be excluded.

2. Dual interactions within the family as members both of the nuclear family and as workers. This dual status results from the transition of a *Gemeinschaft* type of society to a *Gesselschaft* type of society where speakers fulfill different communicative needs.

The pronoun *usted* evolved to cover a bigger space on the politeness spectrum, with broader aspects of face. Previous studies (Terkourafi, 2009) have shown how language in these types of societies is used for different purposes. Studies carried out in Italy show how language can impact the use of language according to the different type of societies (*Gemeinschaft* or *Gesselschaft*) present both in Northern and Southern Italy. In Colonial Costa Rica these two types of societies were not separated geographically, but socially and culturally, being geographically and also socially overlapped (Molina, 1991). This is what makes this phenomenon so particular.

This study also showed tendencies reflected in the preferences of the speakers and the notion of strong versus weak networks. Strong networks (as it has been already pointed out by Bergs, 2005) do not show a tendency towards change or variation; strong networks in this study are reflected by the administrative letters. The excerpts show weak networks, written by those that were not in positions of power, and show covariation. As has been proved by Bergs (2005), weak networks show tendencies toward change.

A similar process can be said about the pronoun *usted*, more specifically with the *usted* and the expansion of the functions and meanings from *Usted1* > *Usted2*. This new use allowed those in the weak network not to be taken out from the strong network despite some of the changes operating at social level: transitioning from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesselschaft* without losing many of the operating principles of the *Gemeinschaft* type of society (legal systems, double role of the family, solidarity and legal system created before 1750 (Molina, 1991))

This dissertation has studied the phenomena of nominal address forms as a form particular of texts of administrative character. In addition, it has contributed to determining the factors, linguistic and extralinguistic, that motivated covariation during the colonial period. Also,

an explanation was given to the development of the pronoun *usted* and how the expansion of its meanings and use took place.

All these dynamics in the society and changes in the language shaped by socio-historical factors show how closely interconnected language and societies are, and how the language mirrors all the changes happening in a society in flux. From a linguistic perspective, it is important to emphasize that the address form system at written level is expanded, not reduced, not with new pronouns, but with new functions.

7.5 Research questions revisited

The next paragraphs answer the research questions and hypothesis posed in the introduction of this study¹⁴¹.

- (1) Why is there a repertoire of second person singular pronouns in the withdrawal (deferential) axis in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish?

The existence of a repertoire of second person singular pronouns in the withdrawal axis in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish is due to the presence of a series of nominal address forms particular of official/administrative letters to the Spanish Crown or to Governors. These forms are strictly used in these types of texts. Previous studies analyzed these texts together with another type of texts giving the impression that the system was overloaded with second person singular pronouns. The analysis carried out in this study shows that these forms, with the exception of the pronoun *usted*, are nominal address forms such as *Vuestra Señoría*, *Vuestra Merced*, *Vuestra Excelencia*, all forms that in Spanish correspond to nominal address forms and not pronouns.

¹⁴¹ The terms deferential and non-deferential are kept in parenthesis to keep alignment with the literal composition of the questions as they were written in the Introduction Chapter.

- (2) What are the factors that triggered the covariation of the second person singular pronouns in Costa Rican Spanish from the 16th century to the first two decades of the 20th century?

The covariation is triggered by many factors, and it happens only between pronominal forms. It was identified for the first period (16th to 18th centuries) that covariation does not happen between nominal address forms such as *Vuestra Merced* or *Vuestra Señoría*. Covariation was found in texts written for local purposes (excerpts). Contrary to what could be expected, gender is not a conditioning factor of the covariation, neither is the type of relationship. It was identified that the main conditioning factor of the variation is the context; the covariation is dictated by the pragmatic of the situation. The important factor during the exchange is the maintenance of the face of the interactants. In all the exchanges in which covariation was present, the speaker made a shift in the pronoun when some aspect of face was present during the exchange. For example, it was found that the shift in the pronoun takes place in relationship to the role or identity kept in one context or in another. As for the second period, variation in the use of the pronouns happens between family members (siblings, mother to son) and in other type of interactions where, again, depending on the context, the speaker, in regard of face, approaches to or withdraws from the reader/hearer. During this second period, it was determined that variation did not take place between siblings when the topic was about official duties, or between spouses, acquaintances or neighbors.

- (3) How did *usted* extend its use to include both withdrawal (deferential) and approach (non-deferential) relationships?

As it was determined in Chapter 5 and 6, the pronoun *usted* has evolved through a 450-500 year period. Throughout this period, since 16th century up to the first half of the 20th century it was determined that *usted* underwent changes in two phases or periods. The first period, grammaticalization, consisted of the nominal form *Vuestra Merced* evolving and becoming a pronominal form through changes such as phonological attrition, bleaching and morphological reanalysis. During this first period of grammaticalization, the pronoun kept its function and meaning, without any extension or broadening of the meaning (withdrawal form). In the same period, some pragmatic exploitation was evident based on the use of the verbs. If the verb was used literally, the use was that of withdrawal; if there was pragmatic exploitation (the verb meant

something different than the literal meaning) the use was that of approach. This was very relevant for the purposes of the study since it provided important linguistic information that lead to the linguistic analysis of the next period.

The second period shows an increase in the use of the pronoun. The analysis also revealed that, depending on the context and the speech acts and meaning conveyed by the writer/speaker, there was a specialization of the uses of the pronoun *usted*¹⁴². Such specialization made the pronoun to broaden its spectrum of use. This extension of the meaning was also related to face and, more specifically, to the Face Threatening Acts conveyed by them (the verbs). If *usted* was used to keep a distance from the reader/hearer, that meant that the reader/hearer was seen as an out-group individual; withdrawing from the reader/hearer, the *usted* will be used as a withdrawal pronoun. If the speaker treated the reader/hearer as a member of the group and attempted to approach the addressee, then *usted* will be used as an approach pronoun. Again, this was determined by context; depending on the speech act communicated, *usted* will have a distinct meaning.

This second part of the process, being highly dependent on the context, was labeled as pragmaticalization, since the pragmatic exploitation of *usted*, within the frame of discourse, became established as a function of the language. When using *usted* as a withdrawal pronoun, the speech act constituted a FTA to the positive face of the reader/hearer. On the contrary, those uses in which the writer/speaker wanted to come closer to the reader/hearer, the pronoun was an FTA to the negative face of the reader/hearer.

- (4) What are the (internal and external) factors that have triggered these changes towards an increasing complexity in the approach (non-deferential) relationship axis?

The internal factors that brought about an increasing complexity on the approach axis have to do with the use of the pronoun in new contexts, specifically, with the pronoun *usted* moving to contexts in which the other approach pronouns also work. An important internal variable that contributed towards the change were the types of verbs increasingly employed by the approach *usted* and the specialization of the withdrawal *usted* with specific types of speech acts, constituting FTAs to the positive or the negative face of the addressee respectively.

¹⁴² Specialization that was not present in the previous period.

Historically, this increasing complexity was developed through the pragmatic exploitation of these verbs during the first period. During the second period, through the grammaticalization/pragmaticalization of the pronoun *usted*, the form acquired new functions on the approach axis. This move towards the approach axis without leaving empty the withdrawal axis made more forms (pronouns) available on the approach axis. Internally, then, through the extension of the semantic scope of the pronoun, an amplification at the meaning level took place (Dichler, 2011) and the pronoun *usted* moved to fill another square on the approach axis (see Table 7.3 on this chapter).

Externally, the factors that contributed the most to this increasing complexity on the approach axis were many, all of different character. It is important to keep in mind that all these factors worked together to produce the final outcome of having an address forms system with so many forms available in the approach axis.

One external factor, described already, was the duplicated role sustained by many individuals within the unit of the family, in which they played a doubled role as workers and as members of a family. It was proposed that these overlapping roles, from a social dynamics perspective, favored the broadening of the uses of the pronouns.

The other external factor was the transition from a subsistence economy to a society economically based on agrarian capitalism. It was also said that this was a transition from a *Gemeinschaft* to a *Gessellschaft* type of society. Within *Gessellschaft* societies the individuals are faced with gaps in communications because the society is more structured around work relations than around group or community relationships based on common values. That gap forces individuals to negotiate more linguistically in their interactions. In the particular case of Colonial Costa Rica, in the closed space of the Central Valley, the social practices of the society previous to 1750 were not absolutely and radically abandoned. On the contrary, some of the social practices and legal practices still existed, anchored in the *Gemeinschaft* type of society in which the Costa Rican culture first developed. This, then, implied the overlapping coexistence of these two types of societies after 1750 (Molina, 1991). With the extension of the pronoun *usted*, socially, the speakers could interact between themselves with a form that would cover all possible interactions in which face had to be kept or maintained. This complex socioeconomic evolution of Costa Rican society constituted an external factor that triggered the semantic expansion of the pronoun to the point of “pushing” *usted* to the approach axis.

5) Hypothesis:

The covariation present during colonial times in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish is not chaotic as it has been presented and can be explained a) through linguistics factors and b) by social factors related to the communicative context (pragmatic context). It is hypothesized that usted acquired this non-deferential meaning as a way to navigate face during a time in which Costa Rican society was making the transition from an agricultural subsistence economy to the beginning of agrarian capitalism. This factor, navigating a more complex social and economic system was the impetus for the new function of usted.

This study has examined in detail written texts (letters and documents) from the end of the 16th century to the first half of the 20th. One of the goals proposed at the beginning of the study was to determine if the address forms subsystem was truly chaotic or not. Particularly in a period of history and in a context of conquest or colonization it could be expected that the system could be experiencing some adjustments and therefore, display some chaos. A goal accomplished by this study was to analyze texts separating them according to their type and character. This analysis by categorizing the material permitted to show clear tendencies in the use of the forms. First, it was relevant for the study to distinguish between nominal address forms (that are not pronominal forms inherited from Latin) and pronominal forms. By separating both types of forms, new patterns were found. One of these patterns is that nominal forms belonged to administrative letters and pronominal forms belonged to texts written for local purposes. By doing so, instead of looking at the system as a system in chaos, it is proposed that the system has a repertoire of forms that were appropriate for one type of text or the other. As for the use of two pronouns in covariation in the texts written for local purposes, it was found that, instead of chaos, the pronouns were in covariation. The covariation follows specific patterns in those texts. It was determined that face, identity and context, played a role in the covariation, understanding variation as the existence of different rules that are available to a speech community (Romaine, 1982). The hypothesis, hence, it is proved: the second person address form in Colonial Costa Rican Spanish was not chaotic, but had specific patterns or rules of use.

7.6 Limitations and challenges of this study and Recommendations

7.6.1 Limitations and challenges

The limitations found for this study had to do with the availability of materials, specifically family letters. This limitation is hard to overcome given the lack of this type of materials in Costa Rican, Central American or Spanish Archives. Further research or visits to archives may bring better results in finding extra material to confirm or disprove the results presented in this research.

Given the nature of the topic of research, a multidisciplinary approach was needed to provide ground breaking results in regard to the address form system and the evolution of the pronoun *usted*. It required extensive research skills and work in areas that, strictly speaking, are not in the field of Spanish or Linguistics (like paleography and economic history). Combining different theoretical frameworks proved to be challenging but it also brought very interesting results, and it is hoped, important contributions to the study of Spanish, Historical Sociolinguistics and Politeness.

7.6.2 Recommendations

- From a diachronic perspective, it is recommended to pursue similar socio-historical studies in the other varieties of Spanish. These studies of varieties of Spanish in which the approach *usted* is also used (alone or in covariation with another second person pronoun) would be very useful. It would make possible finding out if the causes of the semantic change are the same as the ones that have been identified for the Costa Rican Spanish variety.
- For diachronic Costa Rican studies, since the current results are valid for the data gathered for this study, it is recommended to attempt to expand the data base (family letters) and observe if the explanation given here for the semantic change of the pronoun *usted* is also applicable for new data. It will also help to determine if, due to the finding of new data with different information, the explanation given for the semantic change of *usted* needs to be adjusted.

- For synchronic studies, it is strongly recommended to pursue a study in the phenomenon of covariation of the second person pronouns in the current variety of Spanish in the Central Valley dialect of Costa Rica, the area that was studied historically for this research. At this moment, the topic of covariation, which the public of Costa Rica is very aware of, is also interspersed with a debate of what pronoun is “more” Costa Rican and reflects better Costa Rican identity and traditions. Some speakers use actively (and deliberately) “tú” while others and some speakers have a strong reaction against this use because it is seen as a “betrayal” to Costa Rican nationality and identity (by using *tú* and not *vos*). There is no debate about the covariation of *vos* with *usted*; it is noticed and accepted in some cases, in other cases is seen and perceived as a lack of linguistic competence of the speaker (“No sabe hablar, se dice que el tico habla de *vos* pero lamentablemente no lo sabe utilizar por ejemplo en una misma oración hablan de *vos*, de *tú* y hasta de *usted*, o sea no se habla correctamente.” ‘She/he does not know how to talk, it is said that Costa Rican individuals speak with *vos* but unfortunately [Costa Ricans] do not know how to use it, for example in the same sentence they speak with *vos*, with *tú* and even with *usted*, that is, it is not properly spoken.’)¹⁴³. The debate is expressed not just through TV programs but also through the virtual social networks (Facebook for instance, has a group named “En contra de los polos ticos que hablan de tú”, “Against the Costa Rican hillbillies that talk with *tú*”).

It would be of relevance to determine not only if the rules of covariation between *vos* and *usted* are the same that were used in previous decades and centuries, but also it will be relevant to determine why the *tú* is used by some speakers and determine if they are members of the network of society with weak ties (as Bergs describes it) or if they are speakers showing a specific grade of salience.

- In the realm of synchronic studies, it could also be suggested to investigate what type of covariation happens in other varieties of Spanish and what are the specificities, if any, of such covariation and what are the speakers communicating through said covariation.

¹⁴³ Taken from a TV show titled “Buen Día”, the Costa Rican version of “Good Morning America” in which it was debated about the use of the *tú* and the *vos*. February 18, 2011.

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APPENDIX A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

This appendix contains all the charts and tables elaborated during the process of research. They are divided into two main sections. Section I: the data related from the 16th to the 18th centuries, and Section II: the data related from the 19th to the 20th centuries.

They are divided following the internal linguistic variables and the external social variables employed in this study.

Section 1. From the 16th century to the 18th century

1. By Gender

1.1 Subject Address Forms

Male to Male

Nominal Address	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría	35	50%
Vuestra Merced	20	28.57%
Muy Iustre Señor	4	5.71%
Su Magestad	3	4.28%
Señor Gobernador	2	2.85%
Su Merced	2	2.85%
Vuesa Reverencia	2	2.85%
Su Paternidad Reverenda/Reverendo Padre	2	2.85%
Total	70	100%

Table 1.1 Subject pronouns and nominal address in letters written between males

Male and Female

Subject address and nominal forms

Pronoun/Nominal address	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría	5	83.33%
Kinship term (Aunt)	1	16.66%
Total	6	100%

Table 1.2 Nominal Address forms in letters between males and female

Determiners

Determiners: Letters M > M

Determiner/ pronoun/nominal address	Frequency	Percentage
Suya/ Vuestra Señoría	1	20%
Su /Vuestra Merced	1	20%
Suyos/Vuestra Señoría	1	20%
Su/Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda	1	20%
Su/ Su Reverencia	1	20%
Total	5	100%

Determiners: Letters M > F

Determiner/Pronoun/nominal address	Frequency	Percentages
Su/ Vuestra Señoría	3	100%

1.3. Indirect object

Male > Male

Indirect object: letters M > M

Determiner and pronoun/nominal address	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra Señoría	12	40%
LE	8	26.66%
A Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda	5	16.66%
A Vuestra (Vuesa) Reverencia	2	6.66%
A Su Reverencia	2	6.66%
A Vuestra Merced	1	6.66%
Total	30	100%

Indirect Object: M > M

LE vs nominal address forms of Indirect object

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
Analytical forms (<i>prep + nominal address</i>)	22	73.33%
LE	8	26.66%
Total	30	100%

M > F

Indirect object: Letters M > F

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
Indirect object Pronoun <i>LE</i>	1	33.33%
Indirect Pronoun Analytical form <i>A Vuestra Señoría</i>	2	66.66%
Total	3	100%

1.4 Direct object

M > M

Direct object: Letters M > M

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra Merced	3	75%
LO	1	25%
Total	4	100%

1.5 Verbal forms

M > M

Verbal forms: Letters M > M

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría (3rd. Singular)	50	61.72%
Vuestra Merced (3 rd . singular)	27	33.33%
Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda (3 rd singular)	4	4.93%
Total	81	100%

M > F

Verbal forms: Letter M : F

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría	9	100%

2. By Century, 16th to 18th century

2.1 Second half of the 16th century

2.1.1 Subject

Pronoun/nominal address	Frequency	Percentage
Vuestra Señoría	31	73.80%
Muy Ilustre Señor	4	9.52%
Vuestra Merced	4	9.52%
Su Magestad	3	7.14%
Total	42	100%

2.1.2 Determiners

Determiners: Letters second half of the 16th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
Suya (Vuestra Señoría)	1	50%
Su (Vuesa Merced)	1	50%

2.1.3 Indirect object

Indirect object: Letters second half of the 16th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
A Vuestra Señoría	21	67.74%
A Vuestra Merced	7	22.58%
LE	3	9.67%
Total	31	100%

Indirect object: Letters second half of the 16th century

LE vs. Nominal address forms

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
Analytical forms	28	90.32%
LE	3	9.67%
Total	31	100%

2.1.4 Direct object, No tokens of direct object

2.1.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms: Letters second half 16th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría (3 rd singular)	33	82.5%
Vuestra Merced (3 rd singular)	7	17.5%
Total	40	100%

2.2 First half of the 17th centuries

2.2.1 Subject Pronouns

Summary chart

Subject/nominal address: Letters 1st half of the 17th century

Subject/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentage
Vuestra Merced	7	100%

2.2.2 Determiners

No tokens

2.2.3 Direct Object

Summary chart

Indirect object: Letters 1st half of the 17th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage (L5)
A Vuestra Merced (analytical form)	1	100%

2.2.4. Indirect object

Summary Chart

Direct object: Letters 1st half of the 17th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentage
A Vuestra Merced (analytical form)	1	100%

2.2.5 Verbal forms

Summary chart

Verbal forms: Letters 1st half of the 17th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentage
Vuestra Merced (3 rd singular)	8	100%

2.3. Second half of the 17th century.

2.3.1 Subject/nominal address forms: Letters 1st half of the 17th century

Subject/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Merced	7	38.88%
Vuestra Señoría	4	22.22%
Su Merced	2	11.11%
Señor Gobernador	2	11.11%
Muy Ilustre Señor	1	5.55%
Señor Mío	1	5.55%
Su Divina Magestad	1	5.55%
Total	18	100%

2.3.2 Determiners

Summary Chart

Determiners: Letters 1st half of the 17th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
Suyos (Vuestra Señoría)	1	100%

Summary Chart

2.3.3 Indirect object: Letters 1st half of the 17th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra Merced (analytical form)	6	54.54%
A Vuestra Señoría	3	27.27%
LE	2	18.18%
Total	11	100%

2.3.4 Verbal forms: Letters 2nd half of the 17th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Merced (3 rd singular)	10	58.82%
Vuestra Señoría	7	41.17%
Total	17	100%

2.4. First half of the 18th century

2.4.1 Subject/Nominal Address forms: Letters 1st half 18th century

Subject/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría	9	75%
Su Divina Magestad	1	8.33%
Señor Mío	1	8.33%
Kinship term	1	8.33%
Total	12	100%

Summary chart

2.4.2 Determiners: Letters 1st half of the 18th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
Su (Vuestra Señoría)	3	75%
Suyos (Vuestra Señoría)	1	25%
Total	4	100%

Summary Chart

2.4.3 Indirect object: Letters 1st half 18th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra Señoría (preposition + nominal address form)	5	71.42%
LE	2	28.57%
Total	7	100%

2.4.4 Direct object

No tokens.

2.4.5 Verbal forms: Letters 1st half of the 18th century

Summary Chart

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría (3 rd singular)	9	69.23%
A Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda (3 rd singular)	4	30.76%
Total	13	100%

2.5 Second half of the 18th century

2.5.1 Subject

Summary Chart

Subject/nominal address forms: Second half of the 18th century

Subject/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Reverencia	2	66.66%
Su Paternidad Reverenda	1	33.33%
Total	3	100%

2.5.2 Determiners

Summary Chart

Determiners: Letters Second half of the 18th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentage
Su (Su Reverencia)	1	100%

Summary Chart

2.5.3 Indirect Object: Second half of the 18th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra (Vuesa) Reverencia	2	40%
A Su Reverencia	2	40%
LE	1	20%
Total	5	100%

Summary Chart

2.5.4 Indirect object: Second half of the 18th century

LE vs. Analytical form

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
Analytical form	4	80%
LE	1	20%
Total	5	100%

2.5.5 Direct object

Summary Chart

Direct object: Letters second half of the 18th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
LO	1	100%

2.5.6 Verbal forms

Summary Chart

Verbal forms: Letters second half of the 18th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Merced (3 rd singular)	2	100%

Section II. Letters

1. By Century

1.1 Second half of the 16th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	42	100	0	0	42
Determiner	2	100	0	0	2
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	28	90.32%	3	9.67%	31
Verb	40	100	0	0	40

1.2 First half of the 17th century.

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	7	100	0	0	7
Determiner	0	0	0	0	0
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	1	100	0	0	1
Verb	8	100	0	0	0

1.3 Second half of the 17th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	18	100	0	0	18
Determiner	1	100	0	0	1
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	9	81.81	2	18.18	11
Verb	17	100	0	0	17

1.4 First half of the 18th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	12	100	0	0	12
Determiner	4	100	0	0	4
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	5	71.42	2	28.57	7
Verb	13	100	0	0	0

1.5 Second half of the 18th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	3	100	0	0	3
Determiner	1	100	0	0	1
Direct object	0	0	0	0	1
Indirect object	4	80	1	20	5
Verb	2	100	0	0	2

Section III. Excerpts

By Century

1.6 Second half of the 16th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	0	0	0	0	0
Determiner	1	100%	0	0	1
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	1	50%	1	50%	2
Verb	2	100%	0	0	2

1.7 First half of the 17th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	2	100%	0	0	2
Determiner	0	0	0	0	0
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	0	0	0	0	0
Verb	5	100%	0	0	5

1.8 Second half of the 17th century

No data available.

1.9 First half of the 18th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	1	20	4	80	5
Determiner	0	0	4	100%	5
Direct object	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect object	0	0	2	100%	2
Verb	0	0	5	100%	5

1.10 Second half of the 18th century

	Nominal	%	Pronominal	%	Total
Subject	1	10	9	90	10
Determiner	0	0	5	100%	5
Direct object	0	0	1	100%	1
Indirect object	0	0	4	100%	4
Verb	0	0	29	100%	29

Section IV.

1. By Generation, 16th to 18th centuries

1.1 Relationship not equal/different gender (Relat \neq gender)

1.1.1 Subject

Pronoun	F	L12
Vuestra Señoría	5	71.42%
Señor mío	1	14.28%
Kinship term (aunt)	1	14.28%

Summary Chart

1.2 Relationship \neq gender

1.2.1 Subject/nominal address forms

Subject/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría	5	71.42%
Señor mío	1	14.28%
Kinship term	1	14.28%
Total	7	100%

1.2.1 Determiners

Determiners	F	L12
Su (Vuestra Señoría)	3	100%

Summary chart

Determiners: Relationship \neq gender

Determiners	Frequency	Percentage
Su (Vuestra Señoría)	3	100%

1.2.2 Indirect object

Indirect object	F	L12
LE	1	33.33%
A vuestra señoría	2	66.66%

Summary Chart

Indirect Object: Relationship \neq gender
(same chart for LE vs. analytical form)

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra Señoría	2	66.66%
LE	1	33.33%
Total	3	100%

1.2.3 Direct object

None

1.2.4 Verbal forms

Verbal forms	F	L12
Vuestra señoría	9	100%

Summary Chart

Verbal forms: Relationship \neq gender

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría (3 rd singular)	9	100%

1.3 Relationship not equal/same gender

1.3.1 Subject

Summary Chart

Subject/nominal address forms: relationship not equal, same gender

Subject/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría	31	50.81%
Vuestra Merced	13	21.31%
Muy Ilustre Señor	4	6.55%
Su Magestad	3	4.91%
Señor Gobernador	2	3.27%
Su Merced	2	3.27%
Señor mío	2	3.27%
Vuesa Reverencia	2	3.27%
Su Paternidad Reverenda/Reverencia	2	3.27%
Total	61	100%

1.3.2 Determiners

Summary Chart

Determiners: relationship not equal, same gender

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
Suya (Vuestra Señoría)	1	25%
Su (Vuestra Merced)	1	25%
Su (Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda)	1	25%
Su (Su Reverencia)	1	25%
Total	4	100%

1.3.3 Indirect object

Summary Chart

Indirect object: relationship not equal, same gender

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra Señoría	21	42.85%
A Vuestra Merced	12	24.48%
LE	7	14.28%
A Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda	5	10.20%
A Vuestra Reverencia	2	4.08%
A Su Reverencia	2	4.08%

1.3.4 Direct object

Summary Chart

Direct object: relationship not equal, same gender

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
A Vuestra Merced	2	66.66%
LO	1	33.33%
Total	3	100%

1.3.5 Verbal forms.

Summary Chart

Verbal forms: relationship not equal, same gender

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Vuestra Señoría	33	58.92%
Vuestra Merced	19	33.92%
Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda	4	7.14%
Total	56	100%

1.4 Relationship equal/ same gender (Relat =/ =gender)

1.4.1 Subject pronoun

Summary Chart

Subject/nominal address forms: equal relationship/equal gender

Subject/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentage
Vuestra Merced	7	53.84%
Vuestra Señoría	4	30.76%
Muy Ilustre Señor	1	7.69%
Su Divina Magestad	1	7.69%

1.4.2 Determiners

Summary chart

Determiners: equal relationship/equal gender

Determiners	Frequency	Percentage
Suyos (Vuestra Señoría)	1	100%

1.4.3 Indirect object

Summary Chart

Indirect object: equal relationship/equal gender

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
A Vuestra Merced	5	83.33%
LE	1	16.66%
Total	6	100%

1.4.4 Direct object

Summary ChartsDirect object: equal relationship/equal gender

Direct object	Frequency	Percentage
A Vuestra Merced	1	100%

1.4.5 Verbal forms

Summary Chart

Verbal forms: equal relationship/equal gender

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentage
Vuestra Merced	8	53.33%
Vuestra Señoría	7	46.66%
Total	15	100%

Section V
DATA FROM THE 19TH AND THE 20TH CENTURIES

1.5. By Generation

1.5.1 General Distribution

Table 4.10 Letters according to type of relationship between interlocutors and century
(19th and 20th centuries)

Period	Rel: top>down	Rel: not equal, dif. gender	Rel: equal , dif gender	Rel: not equal, same gender	Rel: equal, same gender	Rel: down>top
1811- 1820	...		Brother-sister (L16)		Brother -brother (L15)	...
					Brother-brother (L17)	
		Mother-Son (L18)				
1851- 1860	...				Brother-brother (L19)	...
			Husband-wife (L20)			
					Brother-brother (L21)	
			Husband-wife (L22)			
1881- 1890			Male friend to female friend (L23)			
1891- 1900					Male acquaintance to male acquaintance (L24)	
					Male acquaintance to male acquaintance (L25)	
					Male friend to male friend (L126)	
1901- 1910		Journalist to a student (L27)				
1921- 1930			Female friend to a male friend (L28)			
			Female friend to a male friend (L29)			
1931- 1940					Male neighbor to a male neighbor (L30)	

1.5.1 Generation: Letters between siblings

Pronoun/letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc.	Freq.	Letter 19 perc.
Vos	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0

Summary Chart

1.5.1.1 Subject/nominal address forms: Letters between siblings

Subject pronoun/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentage
Vos	2	100%

1.5.1.2 Determiners

Determiners/letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc.	Freq.	Letter 19 perc.
Vos tu	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV tu	3	75	1	100	2	50	1	100
TV tuyo	0	0	0	0	2	50	0	0

Determiners

Summary Chart

Determiners: Letters between siblings

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
TV tu	7	70%
TV tuyo	2	20%
Vos tu	1	10%
Total	10	100%

1.5.1.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc.	Freq.	Letter 19 perc.
Te tú	0	0	0	0	3	100	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	2	100	0	0	0	0	1	100
Le Ud.	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0

Indirect object

Summary Chart

Indirect object: Letters between siblings

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
Te tú	3	42.85%
Te TV	3	42.85%
LE	1	14.28%
Total	7	100%

1.5.1.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc.	Freq.	Letter 19 perc.
Te tú	0	0	0	0	3	23.07	0	0
Te vos	1	14.28	0	0	1	7.69	0	0
Te TV	4	57.14	2	66.66	6	46.15	0	0

Direct object

Summary Chart

Direct object: Letters between siblings

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
Te TV	10	66.66%
Te tú	3	20%
Te vos	2	13.33%
Total	15	100%

1.5.1.5 Verbs

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc	Freq.	Letter 19 perc.
Tú	1	7.69	0	0	19	79.16	0	0
TV	11	92.30	1	25	2	8.33	2	100
Vos	0	0	0	0	2	8.33	0	0
Ud.	0	0	3	75	1	4.16	0	0

Summary Chart

Verbal forms: Letters between siblings

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Tú (2 nd singular)	20	47.61%
TV (2 nd singular)	16	38.09%
Ud. (3 rd singular)	4	9.52%
Vos (2 nd singular)	2	4.76%
Total	42	100%

1.6 Generation: Letter

1.6.1.1 From a mother to a son

Pronoun/letter	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Vos	1	100

Subject pronoun

Summary chart

Subject pronoun/nominal address form, Generation: Letter from mother to a son

Subject pronoun/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentage
Vos	1	100%

1.6.1.2 Determiners

Determiners/letter	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Vos tu	2	66.66
Vos tuyo	0	0
Tú tu	0	0
Tú tuyo	0	0
TV tu	0	0
TV tuyo	1	33.33

Summary Chart

Determiners, Generation: Letter from mother to a son

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
Vos	2	100%

1.6.1.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Te tú	0	0
Te vos	6	75
Te TV	2	25
Le Ud.	0	0

Summary Chart

Indirect object, Generation: Letter from mother to son

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
Te vos	6	75%
Te TV	2	25%
Total	8	100%

1.6.1.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Te tú	0	0
Te vos	2	40
Te TV	0	0
A vos	3	60
Total	5	100

Summary Chart

Direct object, Generation: Letter from mother to son

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
Te vos	2	40%
Te TV	3	60%
Total	5	100%

1.6.1.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Tú	3	33.33
TV	4	44.44
Vos	2	22.22
Ud.	0	0

Summary Chart

Verbal forms, Generation: Letter from mother to son

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentage
TV	4	44.44%
Tú	3	33.33%
Vos	2	22.22%
Total	9	100%

1.6.2 Generation: Husbands to wives

1.6.2.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	Freq.	Letter 20 perc.	Freq.	Letter 22 perc.
Tú	1	100	0	0

Summary Chart

Subject pronoun, Generation: Letters from husbands to wives

Subject pronoun	Frequency	Percentages
Tú	1	100%

1.6.2.2 Determiner

Determiners/letter	Freq.	Letter 20 perc.	Freq.	Letter 22 perc.
Vos tu	0	0	0	0
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0
Tú tu	1	100	4	100
Tú tuyo	1	0	0	0
TV tu	0	0	0	0
TV tuyo	0	0	0	0

Summary Chart

Determiners, Generation: Letters from husbands to wives

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
Tú tu	5	83.33%
Tú tuyo	1	16.66%
Total	6	100%

1.6.2.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 20 perc.	Freq.	Letter 22 perc.
Te tú	5	100	1	100
Te vos	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0
Le Ud.	0	0	0	0

Summary Chart

Indirect object, Generation: Letters from husbands to wives

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
Te tú	6	100%

1.6.2.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 20 perc.	Freq.	Letter 22 perc.
Te tú	0	0	1	100
Te vos	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0

I.

Direct object	Frequency	Percentage
Te tú	1	100%

1.6.2.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 20 perc.	Freq.	Letter 22 perc.				
Tú	14	100	7	100				
TV	0	0	0	0				
Vos	0	0	0	0				
Ud.	0	0	0	0				

Verbal forms, Generation: Letters from husbands to wives

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentage
Tú	21	100%

1.6.3 Generation: Letters between friends

1.6.3.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	Freq.	Letter 26 perc.	Freq.	Letter 29 perc.
Usted	8	100%	5	100%

Summary chart

Subject pronoun/nominal address forms, Generation: Letters between friends 19th century

Subject pronoun/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentage
Usted	13	100%

1.6.3.2 Determiners

Determiners/letter	Freq.	Letter 23 perc.	Freq.	Letter 26 perc.	Freq.	Letter 28 perc.	Freq.	Letter 29 perc.
Vos tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usted su	4	80	5	100	1	50	2	100
Usted suyo	1	20	0	0	1	50	0	0

Summary chart

Determiners, Generation: Letters between friends, 19th century

Determiner	Frequency	Percentage
Usted su	12	85.71%
Usted suyo	2	14.28%
Total	14	100%

1.6.3.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 23 perc.	Freq.	Letter 28 perc.	Freq.	Letter 29 perc.
Te tú	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0	0	0
Le Ud.	3	100	2	100	2	100

Indirect object

Summary Chart

Indirect object, Generation: Letters between friends, 19th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
LE	7	100%

1.6.3.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 23 perc.
Te tú	0	0
Te vos	0	0
Te TV	0	0
Lo/la Ud.	1	100

Summary Chart

Direct object, Generation: Letters between friends, 19th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
LO/LA	1	100%

1.6.3.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 21 Perc.	Freq.	Letter 23 Perc.	Freq.	Letter 26 Perc	Freq.	Letter 28 Perc.	Freq.	Letter 29 Perc.
Tú	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud.	0	0	3	100	9	100	5	100	11	100

Summary Chart

Verbal forms, Generation: Letters between friends, 19th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	28	93.33%
Tú	2	6.66%
Total	30	100%

1.6.4. Generation: Letter between neighbors

1.6.4.1. Subject

Pronoun/letter	Freq.	Letter 30 perc.
Usted	6	100

Summary chart

Subject pronoun/nominal address forms, Generation: Letter between neighbors, 19th century

Subject pronoun/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentage
Usted	6	100%

1.6.4.2. Determiners

Determiners/letter	Freq.	Letter 30 perc.
Usted su	2	100
Usted suyo	0	0

Summary Chart

Determiners, Generation: Letter between neighbors, 19th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
Usted su	2	100%

1.6.4.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 30 perc.
Le Ud.	3	100

Summary Chart

Indirect object, Generation: Letter between neighbors, 19th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
LE	3	100%

1.6.4.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 30 perc.
Lo Ud.	1	100

Direct object

Summary Chart

Direct object, Generation: Letter between neighbors, 19th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
LO	1	100%

1.6.4.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 30 perc.
Ud.	9	100

Summary Chart

Verbal forms, Generation: Letter between neighbors, 19th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	9	100%

1.6.5 Letters between acquaintances.

1.6.5.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	Freq.	Letter 24 perc.	Freq.	Letter 25 perc.
Usted	14	100	22	0

Summary Chart

Subject pronoun/nominal address forms, Generation: Letters between acquaintances, 19th century

Subject pronoun/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	36	100%

1.6.5.2 Determiners

Determiners/letter	Freq.	Letter 24 perc.	Freq.	Letter 25 perc.
Usted su	3	60	4	80
Usted suyo	2	40	1	20

Determiners

Summary Chart

Determiners, Generation: Letters between acquaintances, 19th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentage
SU usted	7	70%
SUYO usted	3	30%
Total	10	100%

1.6.5.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 24 perc.	Freq.	Letter 25 perc.
Le Ud.	5	100	6	100

Summary Chart

Indirect object, Generation: Letters between acquaintances, 19th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
LE	11	100%

1.6.5.4 Direct Object

No tokens.

1.6.5.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 24 perc.	Freq.	Letter 25 perc.
Ud.	20	100	25	100

Summary Chart

Verbal forms, Generation: Letters between acquaintances, 19th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	20	100%

1.6.6. Generation: Between unknown individuals (individuals that do not know each other personally)

1.6.6.1. Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 27 perc.
Te tú	1	100

Indirect object

Summary chart

Indirect object, Generation: unknown individuals, 19th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
TE tú	1	100%

1.6.6.2 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 27 perc.
Te tú	1	100

Direct object

Summary Chart

Direct object, Generation: Letters between unknown individuals, 19th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentage
Te tú	1	100%

2.

1.6.6.3 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 27 perc.
Tú	2	100

Summary Chart

Verbal forms, Generation: Letter between unknown individuals

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Tú	2	100%

1.7 By Gender, 19th and 20th centuries

1.7.1 Male S/W to male H/R.

1.7.1.1 Subject

Pronoun /letter	F	L15	F	L 17	F	L 19	F	L 21	F	L24	F	L25	F	L26	F	L30
Vos	1	100	1	100	0	0	0	0					0	0		
Usted									14	100	22	100	8	100	6	100

Summary Chart

Subject pronoun, Gender: Letters from M to M

Subject pronoun/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	50	96.15%
Vos	2	3.84%
Total	52	100%

1.7.1.2 Determiners

Summary chart

Determiners, Gender: Letters from M to M

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
SU usted	14	53.84%
TU tv	6	23.07%
SUYO usted	3	11.53%
TUYO tv	2	7.69%
TU vos	1	3.84%
Total	26	100%

1.7.1.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	F	L15	F	L17	F	L19	F	L24	F	L25	F	L30
Te tú	0	0	3	100	0	0	3	37.5		0	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	2	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Le Ud.	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	62.5	6	100	3	100

Summary Chart

Indirect object, Gender: Letters from M to M

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
LE	14	60.86%
TE tú	6	26.08%
TE tv	3	13.04%
Total	23	100%

1.7.1.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	F	L 15	F	L17	F	L19	F	L24	F	L25	F	L30
Te tú	0	0	3	23.07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te vos	1	14.28	1	7.69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	4	57.14	6	46.15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo/La Ud.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100

Summary Chart

Direct object, Gender: Letters from M to M

Direct object	Frequency	Percentage
TE tv	10	62.5%
TE tú	3	18.75%
TE vos	2	12.5%
LO/LA	1	6.25%
Total	16	100%

No tokens for letters 19, 21 and 26.

1.7.1.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	F	L 15	F	L17	F	L19	F	L21	F	L24	F	L25	F	L26	F	L30
Tú	1	7.69	19	79.16	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV	11	92.30	2	8.33	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos	0	0	2	8.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud.	0	0	1	4.16	0	0	0	0	20	100	25	100	9	100	9	100

Summary Chart
Verbal forms, Gender: Letters from M to M

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	64	63.63%
Tú	22	21.78%
TV	15	14.85%
Total	101	100%

1.7.2 Male S/W to female H/R

1.7.2.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	Freq.	Letter 16 %.	Freq.	Letter 20 %	Freq.	Letter 22 %	Freq.	Letter 23 %
Tú	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
Usted	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100

Summary Chart
Subject pronoun, Gender: Letters from M to F

Subject pronoun/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentage
Usted	3	75%
Tú	1	25%
Total	4	100%

1.7.2.2 Determiners

Determiners/letter	Freq.	Letter 16	Freq.	Letter 20	Freq.	Letter 22	Freq.	Letter 23
Vos tu	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tu	0	0	1	50	4	100	0	0
Tú tuyo	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0
TV tu	1	100			0	0	0	0
TV tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud. Su	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	80
Ud. Suyó	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20

Summary Chart
Determiners, Gender: Letters from M to F

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
TU tú	5	41.66%
SU usted	4	33.33%
TU tv	1	8.33%
TUYO tú	1	8.33%
SUYO usted	1	8.33%
Total	12	100%

1.7.2.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 20 perc.	Freq.	Letter 22 perc.	Freq.	Letter 23 perc.
Te tú	0	0	5	100	1	100	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Le Ud.	1	100	0	0	0	0	3	100

Summary Chart
Indirect object, Gender: Letters from M to F

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
TE tú	6	60%
LE	4	40%

1.7.2.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 16	Freq.	Letter 20	Freq.	Letter 22	Freq.	Letter 23
Te tú	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo/La Ud.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100

Summary Chart
Direct object, Gender: Letters from M to F

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
TE tv	2	50%
TE tú	1	25%
LO-LA	1	25%

1.7.2.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 20 perc.	Freq.	Letter 22 perc	Freq.	Letter 23 perc.
Tú	0	0	14	100	7	100	0	0
TV	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud.	3	75	0	0	0	0	3	100

Summary Chart
Verbal forms, Gender: Letters from M to F

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentage
Tú	21	75%
Usted	6	21.42%
TV	1	3.57%
Vos	0	0%
Total	28	100%

1.7.3 Female to male

1.7.3.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	F	Letter 18	F	Letter 27	F	Letter 28	F	Letter 29
Vos	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usted	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	100

Summary Chart
Subject pronoun/nominal address forms, Gender: Letters from F to M

Subject pronoun/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentage
Usted	5	83.33%
Vos	1	16.66%
Total	6	100%

1.7.3.2 Determiner

Determiners/letter	F	Letter 18	F	Letter 27	F	Letter 28	F	Letter 29 perc.
Vos tu	2	66.66	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
TV tuyo	1	33.33	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud. Su	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0
Ud. suyo	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0

Summary Chart
Determiners, Gender: Letters from F to M

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
TU vos	2	33.33%
TU tv	1	16.66%
TUYO tv	1	16.66%
SU usted	1	16.66%
SUYO usted	1	16.66%
Total	6	100%

1.7.3.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	F	Letter 18	F	Letter 27	F	Letter 28	F	Letter 29
Te tú	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
Te vos	6	75	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	2	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
Le Ud.	0	0	0	0	2	100	2	100

Summary Chart
Indirect object, Gender: Letters from F to M

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
TE vos	6	46.15%
LE usted	4	30.76%
TE tv	2	15.38%
TE tú	1	7.69%
Total	13	100%

1.7.3.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	F	Letter 18	F	Letter 27	F	Letter 28	F	Letter 29
Te tú	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0
Te vos	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo/La Ud.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Summary Chart
Direct object, Gender: Letters from F to M

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
TE vos	2	66.66%
TE tú	1	33.33%
Total	3	100%

1.7.3.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	F	Letter 18	F	Letter 27	F	Letter 28	F	Letter 29
Tú	3	33.33	2	100	0	0	0	0
TV	4	44.44	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos	2	22.22	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud.	0	0	0	0	5	100	11	100

Summary Chart
Verbal forms, Gender: Letters from F to M

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	16	59.25%
Tú	5	18.51%
TV	4	14.81%
Vos	2	7.40%
Total	27	100%

1.7.4 By Century, 19th to 20th centuries

First half of the 19th century

1.7.4.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	F	Letter 15	F	Letter 16	F	Letter 17	F	Letter 18
Vos	1	100	0	0	1	100	1	100

Summary Chart
Subject pronoun, Century: 1st half of the 19th century

Subject pronoun/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentage
Vos	3	100%

1.7.4.2 Determiner

Determiners/letter	F	Letter 15	F	Letter 16	F	Letter 17	F	Letter 18
Vos tu	1	25	0	0	0	0	2	66.66
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV tu	3	75	1	100	2	50	1	33.33
TV tuyo	0	0	0	0	2	50	0	0

Determiners

Summary Chart
Determiners, Century: 1st half the 19th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
TU tv	7	58.33%
TU vos	3	25%
TUYO TV	2	16.66%
Total	12	100%

1.7.4.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc.	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Te tú	0	0	0	0	3	100	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	75
Te TV	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	25
Le Ud.	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0

Summary Chart
Indirect object, Century: 1st half of the 19th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
TE vos	6	42.85%
TE tv	4	28.57%
TE tú	3	21.42%
LE	1	7.14%
Total	14	100%

1.7.4.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc.	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Te tú	0	0	0	0	3	30	0	0
Te vos	1	20	0	0	1	10	2	100
Te TV	4	80	2	100	6	60	0	0
Lo/La Ud	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Direct object

Summary Chart
Direct object, Century: 1st half of the 19th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentage
TE tv	12	63.15%
TE vos	4	21.05%
TE tú	3	15.78%

1.7.4.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	Freq.	Letter 15 perc.	Freq.	Letter 16 perc.	Freq.	Letter 17 perc	Freq.	Letter 18 perc.
Tú	1	7.69	0	0	19	79.16	3	33.33
TV	11	92.30	1	25	2	8.33	4	44.44
Vos	0	0	0	0	2	8.33	2	22.22
Ud.	0	0	3	75	1	4.16	0	0

Summary Chart
Verbal forms, Century: 1st half of the 19th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Tú	23	49.93%
TV	18	36.73%
Vos	4	8.16%
Usted	4	8.16%
Total	49	100%

1.7.5 Second half of the 19th century

1.7.5.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	F	L 19	F	L20	F	L21	F	L 22	F	L23	F	L 24	F	L 25
Vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usted	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100	14	100	22	100

Summary Chart

Subject pronouns/nominal address forms, Century: 2nd half of the 19th century

Subject pronouns/nominal address forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	39	97.5%
Tú	1	2.5%
Total	40	100%

1.7.5.2 Determiners

Determiners/letter	F	L 19	F	L20	F	L21	F	L 22	F	L23		F	L 24	F	L25
Vos tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
Tú tu	0	0	1	50	0	0	4	100	0	0		0	0	0	0
Tú tuyo	1	100	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
TV tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	80		3	60	4	80
TV tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20		2	40	1	20

Summary Chart
Determiners, Century: 2nd half of the 19th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
SU usted	11	50%
TU tú	5	22.75%
SUYO usted	4	18.18%
TUYO tú	1	4.54%
TU tv	1	4.54%
Total	22	100%

1.7.5.3 Indirect object

Summary Chart
Indirect object, Century: 2nd half of the 19th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentage
LE	14	66.66%
TE tú	6	28.57%
TE tv	1	4.76%
Total	21	100%

1.7.5.4 Direct object

Indirect Obj./letter	F	L 19	F	L20	F	L 21	F	L22	F	L23	F	L24	F	L 25
Te tú	0	0	5	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Le Ud.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100	5	100	6	100
D.O/Letter	F	L 19	F	L20	F	L21	F	L22	F	L 23	F	L 24	F	L 25
Te tú	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo/La Ud.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0

Summary Chart
Direct object, Century: 2nd half of the 19th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
TE tú	1	50%
LO/LA	1	50%
Total	2	100%

1.7.5.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	F	L19	F	L20	F	L21	F	L22	F	L 23	F	L 24	F	L 25
Tú	0	0	14	100	2	100	7	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100	20	100	25	100

Summary Chart
Verbal forms, Century: 2nd half of the 19th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	48	65.75%
Tú	23	31.50%
TV	2	2.73%
Vos	0	0%
Total	73	100%

1.7.6 First half of the 20th century

1.7.6.1 Subject

Pronoun/letter	F	L 26	F	L27	F	L28	F	L29	F	L30
Vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Usted	8	100	0	0	0	0	5	100	6	100

Summary Chart
Subject pronoun/nominal address forms, Century: Letters 1st half of the 20th century

Subject pronoun/nominal address form	Frequency	Percentage
Usted	19	100%

1.7.6.2 Determiners

Determiners/letter	F	L 26	F	L27	F	L 28	F	L 29	F	L30
Vos tu	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tú tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV tu	3	75	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0
TV tuyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud su	5	100	0	0	1	50	0	0	2	100
Ud suyo	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0

Summary Chart
Determiners, Century: Letters 1st half of the 20th century

Determiners	Frequency	Percentages
SU usted	10	90.90%
SUYO usted	1	9.09%

1.7.6.3 Indirect object

Indirect Obj./letter	F	L 26	F	L27	F	L 28	F	L 29	F	L 30
Te tú	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Le Ud.	0	0	0	0	2	100	2	100	3	100

Summary Chart
Indirect object, Century: Letters 1st half of the 20th century

Indirect object	Frequency	Percentages
LE usted	7	87.5%
TE t[u]	1	12.5%

1.7.6.4 Direct object

D.O/Letter	F	L 26	F	L27	F	L 28	F	L 29	F	L 30
Te tú	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lo/La Ud	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100

Summary Chart
Direct object, Century: Letters 1st half of the 20th century

Direct object	Frequency	Percentages
TE tú	1	50%
LO/LA	1	50%

1.7.6.5 Verbal forms

Verbal forms/ Letter	F	L 26	F	L27	F	L28	F	L29	F	L30
Tú	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ud.	9	100	0	0	5	100	11	1100	9	100

Summary Chart
Verbal forms, Century: Letters 1st half of the 20th century

Verbal forms	Frequency	Percentages
Usted	34	94.44%
Tú	2	5.55%
Total	36	100%

Data
Evolution of the pronoun usted

	Withdrawal		Approach	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Vuestra merced	2 (E3)	28.57%		
Usted	1 (E5)	14.28%	1 (E6)	33.33%
Usted	2 (E14)	28.57%	1 (E9)	33.33%
Usted	1 (E8)	14.28%		
Usted (usté)	1(E12)	14.28%	1 (E10)	33.33%

Withdrawal and approach forms in excerpts from the 16th to 18th centuries

Letter	Approach	
	Frequency	Percentage
Letter 16	3	23%
Letter 23	5	39
Letter 28	5	39

Approach uses in letters during the 19th to the 20th centuries

Subject forms of *usted* : letters from the 19th to 20th centuries

Letter	Withdrawal use	Approach use
Letter 24 (n=15)	8	7
Letter 25 (n=29)	14	15
Letter 26 (n=9)	4	5 ¹⁴⁴
Letter 27 (n=1)	1	0
Letter 29 (n=6)	0	6
Letter 30 (n=6)	6	0

Forms of *usted*: letters from the 19th to the 20th centuries

The following table shows the distribution of the deferential and non-deferential uses.

FTA to the negative face	Deferential. Excerpts		Deferential. Letters.		Non deferential. Excerpts.	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Suggestion	1	14.28%	4	18.18%	1	33.33%
Order	1	14.28%	6	27.27%	1	33.33%
Request	2	28.57%	7	31.81%	1	33.33%
S putting pressure on the H/R to perform X act	4	50%				
Advice			2	9.09%		
Excuse			2	9.09%		
Reminding			1	4.54%		

FTA to negative face in withdrawal and approach *usted*,
16th to 18th centuries

Example	Letters from the 19 th to the 20 th centuries	
	Withdrawal FTA to the + face	Approach FTA to the – face.
(7)Ud. Hace admirablemente zapatillas de señora (...)le aconsejo que se dedique	expositive (verdictive) belittling	
(10)Y ud lo ha tomado como una exigencia	Not sharing the perspective of the H (behavitive)	
(9)Me echa usted en cara un desatino que creo no haber dicho	disagreement , accusation (verdictive)	
(10) Si no tuviera usted tan exquisito temperamento		compliment, expression of admiration (behavitive act)
(11) Usted debe estar sabido		Implicit warning (you better know about this), Expositive/Behavitive
(13)Haga lo que le parezca, si ud. se disgusta, ando por donde quiera		expression of emotion (anger), warning (behavitive)

Comparison of withdrawal and approach uses in letters from the 19th to the 29th centuries

FTA to – face based on verbal forms. Approach (n=7)	Freq .	FTA to – face based on subject pronoun Approach (n = 35)	Fre q.	FTA to + face. Withdrawal. Subject based (n= 35)	Freq.
Putting pressure on the H to perform X act.	3	Compliment	1	Increased possibility that an FTA will occur (sensitive topic)	2
Formulaic expression	1	Expression of admiration	6	No common values between S/W and H/R	1
Expression of S's sentiments of the H	1	Reminding	7	Belittling/Boasting	11
Suggestion	2	Warning	2	Dissapproval	4
		Constraining	3	Statements	6
		Expression of negative emotions	4	Expression of an emotion	2
		Promise	1	Confession	4
		Expression same value of the H	1	Acceptance of a compliment/gift	1
		Suggestion/Advice	4	Accusation	1
		Expressing thanks (damage to S)	1	Indiference to the + face needs of H/R	1
		Request	3	Self-humiliation	2
		Offering an excuse (damage to S)	1		
		Offer	1		

FTA to negative and positive face:Withdrawal and approach uses from the 19th to the 20th centuries

Example	Letters from the 19 th to the 20 th centuries	
	Withdrawal FTA to the – face, 16 th to 18 th centuries	Withdrawal FTA to the + face, 19 th to 20 th centuries.
Bea usted	Performative	
Determine, saber, consienta	Put pressure on the hearer to perform X act	
Vuestra Merced Me ynvioó (sic)	Making a statement, expositive	
Vuestra Merced Me quería comprar	Giving an excuse	
Ud. Hace admirablemente zapatillas de señora (...)le aconsejo que se dedique		expositive (verdictive) belittling
Y ud lo ha tomado como una exigencia		Don't sharing the perspective of the H (behavitive)
Me echa usted en cara un desatino que creo no haber dicho		disagreement , accusation (verdictive)

Comparison between the withdrawal uses of *usted* between 16-18th centuries and 19th to 20th centuries

Example	Letters from the 19 th to the 20 th centuries	
	Withdrawal FTA to the – face. 16 th to 18 th centuries	Withdrawal FTA to the + face, 19 th to 20 th centuries
Bea usted	Performative	
Determine, saber, consienta	Put pressure on the hearer to perform X act	
Vuestra Merced Me ynvioó (sic)	Making a statement, expositive	
Vuestra Merced Me quería comprar	Giving an excuse	
Ud. Hace admirablemente zapatillas de señora (...)le aconsejo que se dedique		expositive (verdictive) belittling
Y ud lo ha tomado como una exigencia		Not sharing the perspective of the H (behavitive)
Me echa usted en cara un desatino que creo no haber dicho		disagreement , accusation (verdictive)

Contexts of withdrawal use from the 16th century to the 20th century

	Approach FTA to the – face. 16 th to the 18 th c.	Approach FTA to the – face. 19 th to the 20 th centuries
Me diga	Making a request, expositive	
Dígale usted	Order	
Si no tuviera usted tan exquisito temperamento		compliment, expression of admiration (behavitive act)
Usted debe estar sabido		Implicit warning (you better know about this) Expositive/Behavitive.
Haga lo que le parezca, si ud. se disgusta, ando por donde quiera		expression of emotion (anger), warning. (behavitive)

Comparison of the examples and their contexts for approach use of *uste*,
16th-18th c. vs. 19th – 20th c.

APPENDIX B LETTERS

Texts of original letters transcribed specifically for this doctoral dissertation.

1. Carta de Don Diego Vásquez de Montiel Coronado dirigida a su tía doña Ma. Termino Vásquez de Coronado, adelantada de Costa Rica.

Fo. 1.

10 de octubre de 1717

Tía queridissima mia aunque habido tan corta mi fortuna que aviendo escripto a Vssa. Por laberacruz y por Portobelo no ha llegado ninguna a sus manos Segunbeo por la que recibió de Vssa el alférez mayor Don Diego Vásquez de Montiel mi padre Su ultima fecha de 9 de agosto del año de 12 (1712) me queda el consuelo deber por ella que Vssa goza de salud; y me queda motivo para que Con aquel cariño que soi obligado le de rrepetidas gracias porloque meha favorecido, y me favorece Con la rrenuncia quehahecho de el titulo de Adelantado de costarrica enmipersona costitullendose en delante de mi loquera (lo que era) aunque esta están de Vssa deque siempre Vibira agradecido, pero para asegurarme deque seme opongán dificultades Si Vssa falta Dios laguarde muchos años, para entrar en la posesión deel titulo pues están benzidas las mayores que es la declaración dela sucesión, enel consejo, seade Serbir Vssa de entregar los despachos ami apoderado para que puedan benir amismanos yusar yo de el titulo, que enprimer lugar lo es el (símbolo ilegible) Don Juan Paredes y en segundo lugar a Don Felipe lopes decamarena, y en tercero al Capellan mayor que es y era de la qe fuere de la Congregazion de San Pedro de pesbiteros Naturales de Madrid; quedando advertido deque larrenta queda rretenida en Vssa por los días desubida (*de su vida. Sic*) sin que ubiera rrazon para otra cosa quedándome

Fo.1.v.

Solo el sentimiento de tener mucho caudal para aestir a Vssa demás delarriendo pero esta parece que en llegando el tiempo sefazilitara mas el que entre enmipoder teniendo ya el titulo aprendido, por lo qual Vssa. No se canze en favorecerme y prosiga haziendolo como asta aquí entregando amis apoderados dichos dichos despachos y testimonios duplicados de todos los papeles de el adelantamiento; y de elde mayorazgo de Sebiya quepara todo los costos quisieren dhos. Papeles satisfará mi apoderado;y entodo quedo asegurado deque Vssa. Obrara por mi

Como por parte tan ynmediata Como sucesor dela mesma manera que sifuera suhijo con que en este particular notengo mas quedecir.

El Rdo Pr fray francisco deocon y trillo mitio [mi tío]. fue Dios Serbido dellebarzelo parazi el año pasado de 1716.

Con que porparte materna nomeha quedado Pariente ninguno, y por parte paterna tengo untio rreligioso de ntra Señora delas Mercedes ydos tias monjas en el Combento deSanta Catarina en la Ciudad de Guatemala. Mi padre quedabueno y sele encomienda mucho que no le escribe porque yalo echo que ya Seaya con sesenta y tres años y yo Con 39 que adoze demayo sierro 40. Pero gracias a Dios meayo mui alentado y siempre Rogando a Dios gde (guarde) a Vssa muchos años Como dezeo granada y octubre 10 de 1717 años

Mui Señora mia

B DeMa Suseguro Serbidorysobrino

D Diego Basquez
De Montiel Coronado

A
SS Adelantada de Costarrica Da. Maria
De Termino Vasquez de Coronado mi tia y Sra. Mia.

2. Carta de D. Diego Vásquez de Montiel Coronado, adelantado de Costa Rica a fray Pedro Brinigas, procurador general de la Orden de Ntra. Sra. De la Merced Calzada, agradeciéndole la remisión de las cláusulas del testamento de su tía doña María Termino Vásquez de Coronado, y comunicándole el envío de poder a d. Manuel de Mojica para que ponga al corriente el Mayorazgo que su tía tenía en Sevilla. Copia de 22 de Diciembre de 1722, remitida por la vía de Panamá.

Fo. 1

MP fr. Pedro de Brinigas

Mui S mio la de VPR (Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda) recibi fechada en Madrid a los 10 de henero del Año Pasado de (1)720 y por ella le rindo a VPR (Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda) las gracias por las _____ que a tenido en la remición que me hiso de las clausulas del testamento de mi Señora Da. Maria Termino Vasques de Coronado adelantada que fue de la provincia de Costa Rica mi tia qe Dios tenga en el cielo. En cuio adelantamiento subseedo por mas Inmediato. Y por esta razón estoi ya ya en la poccion de el, porque retorno a VPR (Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda) los pezames y plazemes que me da, y Ruego no olvide a la dha mi tia en sus sacrificios, y a mi no me tenga _____ en mandarme quanto sea desu Servicio que lo executare

Fo. 1. V.

Con pronta obediencia y en quanto a la ultima disposición de dha Señora y dexar por erederos a los Captibos orphanos (sic) que redime la Relixion de VPR (Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda) digo que en esta fha remito poder al Sr. Dn. Manuel de Moxica canónigo y dignidad de la S Iglesia Parroquia o Cathedral de la Cuidad de Guatemala. Para que _____ en ese reino y según los recaudos que le remito use de mi derecho en todo lo qe. Fuere favorable assi a mi Maiorasgo des _____ (ilegible) _____ nado qe. Tengo en semillas _____ nado del descuido y mala administración que tubo dicha mi tia y que recupere y ponga al corriente según su funda _____ (ilegible) a costa de dhos. Vienes. Y assi mismo usen del recurso de haver poseído _____ el Adelantamiento y maiorasgo con mala fee sobre que usase de mi derecho por lo que toca al caudal que está en Guathemala y por lo que los derechos pertenecen a la _____ -ecion no se quedan

Fo. 2.

Omitidas Gravamen de Herencia lo reg _____ esdo (sic) todo al _____ de Barones literatos y con _____ de dha _____ -y en el Inter quedo rogando a Dios Ntro Señor guarde a SPR (Su Paternidad Reverenda) muchos años y lo exalte en maiores puestos Granada Diciembre 16 del 722 a BSM de VPMR su maior servidor Adelantado de Costarrica//
Esta es copia de la que VPR (Vuestra Paternidad Reverenda) por la via de Guathe y por mano de mi apoderado General Dn. Manuel de Moxica Canonigo de la Iglesia Cathedral de la Ciudad de Guath y esta remito a VP (Vuestra Paternidad) por la via de Panama y al Reverendo padre _____ fray Franco. Almoguera le remito por esta mesma via Un testimonio en relación de todos los Instrumentos que Inbio a Guathemala por si pueden llegar estos Primero y para que se sepa que estoy enpozecion y con mi Real título de Adelantado de Costarrica en la

Provincia de costarrica que se me libro por las audiencias de Guatha en virtud de mis Instrumentos y Justificacion de ellos Dios

Fo.2.v.

Guarde a SPR (Su Paternidad Reverenda) los anos demi deceo Granada de Nicaragua

Dicie. 22 de (1)722

Beso Sus Manos de SPMR de

Su Seguro Servidor

_____Adelantado de Costa Rica.

3. **Carta de Manuel Antonio González Zeledón (Magón) a María Isabel Carvajal (Carmen Lyra) a propósito de la publicación de los “Cuentos de mi Tía Panchita”.**

New York, Abril 17 de 1890

Srta. María Isabel Carbajal .

San José-Costa Rica

Estimada Carmen Lira:

El mutuo amigo García Monge, alias “Moto” acaba de enviarme el último tomo de sus Colecciones “Cuentos de mi Tía Panchita”, debido a su pluma. No he podido resistir al impulso de escribir a Ud. unas dos gruesas de palabras de felicitación y mi promesa de escribirle largo y tendido cuando concluya la lectura; Voy o iba anoche por “Uvieta”, hasta ahora el que más me ha gustado.

Como yo reclamo y mantengo ser el iniciador en Costa Rica de la literatura de costumbres, tengo y asumo el derecho de lamentarme o felicitarle con la aparición de nuevos libros del género.

El suyo es de los que me han “vuelto turumba” y me han puesto más contento que negro con zapatos nuevos.

Porque yo conocí a su “Tía Panchita” que en mi casa se llamaba “Manuela Jiménez” y en otras casas allá por 1870 debió llamarse “Sunción” o “Mona” o “Chedes” o “Trenidad” y fui grandísimo compinche de ella y me le arrecostaba con temblorosa ansiedad y temerosa expectación a escucharle sus “Cuentos de Camino” con súbitas apariciones y aventuras del Cadejos y la Zegua y la Llorona y el Patás, todos más o menos tarde derrotados y hechos chuicas por la flamante espada del “Príncipe Encantador” o por las burdas argucias del “Tonto” que siempre resultaba ser el más “Vivo”.

La boca tengo hecha agua leyendo su libro y lanzando mi memoria a los felices años de mi niñez, cuando mi Cátedra preferida era la Cocina, mi liceo el corredor de mi “Tía Cholita” Castro de Zúñiga y mis teorías las de Bertoldo, Sancho, Don Quijote, Pedro Urdemalas, y Ñor Valentín Sequeira o Secaira, el atormentado de Don Braulio Carrillo.

Dios se lo pague y la Virgen me la guarde de toda contingencia por haberme sonado ese cascabelito de oro en la purísima oreja, que me ha causado íntimo regocijo. Así se hace que ya prontico el “Moto” echará también mis cuentos en libro y entonces me daré el gustazo de dedicarle un ejemplar pa que vea!

Eche acá esos cinco lirios y no se caliente si le digo que soy su servidor y amigo
Magón.

4. Carta personal de María Isabel Carvajal (Carmen Lyra) a Joaquín García Monge.

Mi buen amigo

No se si haré una impertinencia, pero si así fuere discúlpenme. No tengo paciencia para aguardar el día en q' ud pueda venir para decirle lo que me llena de angustia. Quizá se debe a mi temperamento pero el caso es q' una cantidad de cosas que yo miro pasar sobre los demás sin dejar huella a mí me maltratan de la manera más cruel.

Voi a Ud, porq' recuerdo q' su alma vive muchas horas entre almas de mujer, porq' ud fue mi profesor i como tal puede aconsejarme i también porq' es mi amigo. Le abro mi corazón como lo haría antaño cuando era una chiquilla religiosa, ante mi confesor.

Dígame, Sr García, ¿No habrá en mí un orgullo desmedido al desear alejarme de casi todas las gentes porque las encuentro falsas?

¿I yo también no soy falsa cuando al censurar en mi interior los actos de los demás, encuentro en mí el demonio q' a ellos también los hacer ser malos?

Si viera q' desesperación la de hoi. Veo a todas las gentes moviéndose como autómatas, todos agarrados al hilo de un determinismo que me exaspera.

I porque sintiendo la fatalidad pesar sobre cada ser, para unos encuentro disculpa i para otros no?

Por ejemplo: Ahora acude a mí el recuerdo de la persona por la cual yo siento más antipatía en esta vida, Salomón, Ud sabe yo no encuentro para él, ni el más pequeño síntoma de la piedad que pongo para juzgar las acciones de los otros.

Casi siento asco por lo que me rodea, Sr García i yo no quiero que sea así. Oigo hablar tanto de farsa, q' ya las gentes han acabado por darme miedo. ¿Q' pensamientos hai tras las frentes que tengo ante mí? Miro a los ojos de los demás como si me asomara a un abismo. Mire ud: esa teoría del determinismo me desespera. Yo siento q' me rebelo contra ese Dios o esa naturaleza (como Ud quiera q' así nos ha hecho).

¿No le parece triste la indiferencia con que se han de acoger las acciones buenas o malas de los hombres? Ya sean buenos o malos son irresponsables.

No me gusta la vida. Hoi me sentía desesperada. Veía pasar los hombres, las mujeres, los chiquillos i me parecía verlos atados a su destino i al pensar en lo que éste daría a c/uno me daban deseos de llorar. Quise entrarme en mi Yo, buscar un descanso en mi reino interior pero tuve miedo: ¿Quién soy yo? me pregunté: ¿De donde vengo i a donde voi?

Adiós Sr García, cuando vuelva traiga un buen acopio de su filosofía consoladora y bondadosa para calmar mi ánimo.

Marisabel

5. Carta de Carmen Lyra a Don Joaquín García Monge. Solicitud de publicación de un cuento.

The letter does not have a date. The literary story referred here was published December 21st, 1925.

Don Joaco, quiere reproducir en su Reper ese cuentillo de Navidad? Yo quiero q'allí estén todas las Fantasías por si algún día quiere recogerlas en 1 tomito, talves así q'esté muerta. (Le digo esto para q' se conmueva i me lo publique)

Un abracito

María Isabel.

(Vea q' me pongan Carmen Lyra con y porque del otro modo resulta un nombre con mala suerte. Tenemos una clave para los nombres. Rosita le sacó el del suyo i le resultó mui bien.

6. *Carta de Antonio Arce a su vecino Amado León.*

6 de marzo de 1935

Señor

Don Amadeo León

Estimado señor

Al redactor estas líneas; lo hago con el objeto de saludarlo; y al mismo tiempo para decirle lo siguiente.

Creo que Ud. Debe estar sabido, que su hijo Marino, llevaba relaciones amorosas con la hija mia, y al mismo tiempo con el objeto de casarse; como el me había dicho; pues llo le puse un plazo de seis meses, que creo era muy suficiente para conocerse bien, pues yo lo atendía debidamente y le di la entrada, por que el me decía que el quería la muchacha y que con ella se casaba, pero pro (sic) eso yo no me dejaba llevar de iluciones y ni de palabras lisonjeras, porque yo e sido arriero viejo; como lo a sido Ud, pero no por eso, en ausencias de mi casa la seducio a tal extremo con palabras de casamiento que cometió el crimen de violación con ella y ahora á dicho que con ella no se casa, pues esta bien, yo le dije a el que yo no lo comprometía ni tampoco de echarle la ley pero si que se refrenara la lengua porque tanto hablado de la muchacha como a hablado de mi, si lo estaba trantando (sic) con buenas palabras no por miedo, porque no lo conozco, ni al el ni a ninguno y a estado rajando mucho, asies que Ud como padre de el se lo antepongo somos enemigos adonde los encontremos, o la yegua o el potrillo, o voy a volar espalda al panteón o me ayo desgraciado en el presidio de la cárcel, por lo tanto no es el ni nadie quien, me coje de mona porque ni el diablo fue cabrón mucho menor que yo; yo pensé que estaba tratando con persona decente pero yo no sabia que era un tarambanas.

Yo no nesito que la muchacha se case pues todavía la puedo mantener, mucho menos con el, que no puede sustantar obligaciones, pues por lo tanto le ago saber que lo que hay, para como padre le diga que se tenga lastima; porque sí con otros a jugado creo que talvez conmigo no.

Asies que haga lo que le parezca si Ud, se disgusta, pues ando por donde quiera, pues son pantalones lo que cargo, pero esta si no me la trago.

Si Ud. Comprende y no es cabrón dira si tengo razón o no, porque con sus hijas que hubieran echo. Ud. No se la aguantaría.

A todo trance [?]

Antonio Armilio Arce

San Miguel Norte de Santo
Domingo